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NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

LETTERS, MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS, &c.

IN PROSE AND VERSE.

NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ:

BEING A

MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS,

IN PROSE AND VERSE;

WRITTEN

DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII. EDWARD VI. QUEEN MARY, ELIZABETH, AND KING JAMES:

BY

SIR JOHN HARINGTON, KNT.

And by others who lived in those Times.

SELECTED FROM AUTHENTIC REMAINS

BY THE LATE HENRY HARINGTON, M. A.

AND NEWLY ARRANGED,

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

BY

THOMAS PARK, F. S. A.

192.33.D
13.11.24

VOL. I.

We ought to judge of the editions of books as we judge of men;—none are perfect, and the best are good only by comparison. *Church.*

LONDON:

Printed by J. Wright, Denmark-Court, Strand,

FOR VERNOR AND HOOD, POULTRY, AND CUTHELL AND MARTIN, MIDDLE ROW, HOLBORN.

1804.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

Certain gems that pretend not to more than moderate intrinsic worth, are yet found to acquire additional estimation from diversity of setting: the contents of some books may be presumed to do the same, by an improved transposal of their several parts. Such adventitious value is here attempted to be given to these antiquated trifles, by a different display of the pieces formerly published by Mr. Henry Harington, from a collection of MSS. which descended from his literary ancestor to the present ingenious and well-known Dr. Harington of Bath. In prosecuting this attempt, I must express my personal obligations to Edmond Malone, Esq. for the readiness with which his corrected copy of these NUGÆ *was imparted, and for various hints that served to facilitate the process of chronological arrangement. Nor ought the habitual kindnesses of those distinguished antiquaries James Bindley and Francis Douce, Esqrs. to deter me, on the present occasion, from acknowledging the friendly services afforded by their very valuable libraries. To the learned and liberal editor of Milton's poetical works I am indebted for some estimable observations; and my particular thanks are due to Professor Dalzel, to Dr. Leyden and Dr. Anderson of Edinburgh, for their united assistance in procuring an unpublished poem by Sir John Harington, from the library of King James's college. To Mr. Professor Porson of Cambridge, to Edmund Lodge, Esq. of the Heralds college, and to John Cooper Walker, Esq. of St. Valeri, near Dublin, my respectful acknowledgments must also be made for very flattering attentions.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

In reconducting this miscellany to the press, I have taken the liberty of rejecting several prose pieces, which had appeared in preceding editions, and of inserting others, that seemed to possess stronger claims for admission into a mélange suranné. *Much of the former poetry is likewise omitted, from having proved on examination to be printed in Tottell's early assemblage of songs and sonnets; "a garland," says our elegant Warton, "in which it was the fashion for every flowery courtier to leave some of his blossoms." As this garland is again preparing for public exhibition by the accomplished hand of Bishop Percy, such omissions became more forcibly authorised.*

The "State of the Church," which is curious for its biographical and historical notices, has been amplified and revised, from collation with an original MS. copy in the British Museum, apparently presented by its author to Prince Henry Frederick, anno 1607.

The sketch of Sir John Harington's life has also received additions; and notes of personal or political illustration are interspersed throughout, for which the present editor is alone responsible, should they be deemed nugacious or supererogatory. The only candid excuse he can offer is—that he has endeavoured, in some slight degree, to render this such a publication as it would have given him pleasure to have found it.

T. PARK.

SOME ACCOUNT OF

SIR JOHN HARINGTON,

Of Kelston, Knight.

THE once celebrated author of the principal papers here collected, was descended from a respectable family in Cumberland, whose ancestor, Sir James Harington, was attainted in the reign of Henry the Seventh,[2] for bearing arms at the battle of Towton, and taking Henry the Sixth prisoner; his estates forfeited to the crown, amounting to five and twenty considerable manors in the north. Notwithstanding this attachment to the house of York, his succeeding generations were well received at the court of Henry the Eighth, where John Harington,[3] of Stepney, the father of our author, held

[2] Sir *Robert* is the person said to be attainted at Leicester, i. Hen. VII. in Harl. MS. 1549; but Holinshed speaks of Robert and James as both attainted. They originally derived their name from a place called Haverington, in the county of Cumberland, and continued barons thereof for many generations. See Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 99.

[3] Which John (according to Wood) was the son of Alexander, descended from a younger brother of the Haringtons of Brierley, in Yorkshire. Athen. Oxon. i. 582; also Harl. MS. ut sup.

a considerable office, and united himself in marriage to a natural daughter of Henry; with whom the King gave, as dower, the forfeited church lands of Kelston,[4] &c. upon which he is said to have built the largest house at that time in Somersetshire. In the reign of Queen Mary he was imprisoned eleven months in the Tower, with his second wife, Isabella Markham, for

[4] "After the dissolution of religious houses, King Henry VIII. in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, granted this manor, with those of Bath-Easton and Katherine, and the capital messuage called Katherine's Court, to John Malte and Ethelred Malte, alias Dyngley, the king's natural daughter, by Joanna Dyngley, alias Dobson; which Ethelred was committed to the care of the said Malte, who was the king's taylor, for education: and the king, having special love and regard for her, granted these estates for her use and benefit; but she always passed for Malte's natural daughter. She was shortly after married to John Harington, Esq. a confidential servant of the king, who thus obtained the several estates abovementioned," and settled at Kelston about 1546. Collinson's Somersetshire, i. 128.

Another branch was possessed of very considerable estates in Rutland and Lincolnshire, from which were descended John Lord Harington, of Exton, and James Harington, author of "Oceana;" respecting which work a ridiculous blunder occurs in the "Public Characters for 1799-1800," under the article of Dr. Harington, where the "OCEANA," a folio volume, is said to be "inserted in the PREFACE of the *Hugo Antiques*," (meaning *Nugæ Antiquæ*,) which consisted of five octavo pages!!

carrying a letter to the Princess Elizabeth.[5] Their zealous attachment to this lady, during her confinement, established them so firmly in her favour, that she retained them in her service when Queen, and stood god-mother to their son, our author, as a mark of her friendly remembrance of their sufferings on her account.[6]

It appears that Sir John was born at Kelston, near Bath, in 1561;[7] that he was educated at Eton,[8] and afterwards entered at Christ's college, in Cambridge, under the care of Doctor Still.[9] For a short time he appears to have studied the law. This is deducible from his "Metamorphosis of Ajax," where he describes him-

[5] See "State of the Church," under the head of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 67, and a letter to Bishop Gardiner, vol. i. p. 64.

[6] See p. 128, infra.

[7] See Collinson's Somersetshire, ubi sup.

[8] See his New Year's Gift to King James, p. 332.

[9] The respect and gratitude which Sir John testified for Bishop Still, are extremely pleasing; and the high character given of him in the State of the Church, is equally creditable to the giver and receiver. See vol. ii. p. 157.

self as a punie [puisne] of Lincolns-Inn, though he confesses that "he studied Lyttleton but to the title of discontinuance." The advantages of a good education, and an excellent understanding, soon recommended him to the notice of the Queen, who encouraged him in his pursuit of learning. Fuller has celebrated his proficiency in literature and poesy; which, together with the Queen's regard for his parents, soon brought him to court. Here he distinguished himself by his wit and erudition, and gained the esteem of all ranks, and of both sexes. Being well versed in the Italian language, he translated a tale[2] out of Ariosto's "Orlando

[2] This, I am informed by Mr. Walker, was the story of Giocondo, in Book xxviii, which was handed about, anonymously, in the court of Elizabeth. Happening to fall into the hands of the Queen, she enquired the name of the translator. On hearing the version was the production of Harington, she sent immediately for him, and severely reprimanded him for endangering the morals of her maids of honour, by putting into their hands so indecorous a tale; and, as a punishment, ordered him to retire to his country-seat, and not appear again in her presence till he could produce a complete version of the whole poem. This anecdote was imparted to Mr. Walker by the late Earl of Charlemont. Such a mode of punishment, however, was increasing the nature of the offence. It was somewhat like making a man commit burglary, in order to screen himself from the penalties of petty larceny.

Furioso," which was highly pleasing to the ladies; but the Queen, who was not unacquainted with what passed around her, soon got a sight of her god-son's poetry, and, thinking it proper to affect indignation at some indelicate passages, forbad our author the court, till he had translated the entire work. This he accomplished, and dedicated to herself, in 1591.[3]

Another literary production, which is now very scarce, made its appearance in 1596, and is entitled—" A new Discourse of a stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax;" otherwise, a *jakes*. It was occasioned, as Mr. Harington reported, by the author's having invented a kind of water-closet for his house at Kelston. In this little work we find extensive reading and infinite humour, combined with the satiric grossness of Swift; but several of the persons alluded to, and intended to be sati-

[3] Fuller has erroneously inscribed it to the Princess Elizabeth, afterward Queen of Bohemia. Mr. Ellis, an excellent judge, terms the version 'inaccurate and feeble.' Francis Harington, the younger brother of Sir John, furnished the first fifty stanzas of Book xxxii. The wife of this gentleman, and the wife of Sir John, were two of the female train who followed the mourners at Lord Burleigh's funeral. Vid. Harl. MS. 2358.

rised, are unknown to us at this time. It appears, however, to have contained certain sarcasms on men in high stations, and particularly to have levelled some inuendo against the Earl of Leicester;[4] whence it called forth much apparent displeasure, even from the Queen;[5] and Mr. Harington avers, that the author escaped a Star-Chamber inquisition rather from the Queen's secret attachment to him, (which the courtiers well knew,) than from any favour or lenity in themselves. Several epigrams respecting this book, and the Queen's reconciliation to the author, are printed at the end of his translation of "Orlando Furioso," 1634, and had three previous impressions.

The indulgence which Harington experienced from his Royal Mistress, contributed to the number of his productions, as well as to their poignancy. His reputation for a sarcastic species of writing, which in that age was not so

[4] See p. 240.

[5] Mr. Steevens has observed, in his edition of Shakspeare, 1793, (vol. 5, p. 354,) that "a licence was refused for printing this book, and the author was forbid the court for writing it." Notwithstanding these inhibitions, the tract was actually thrice printed in the course of one year; and two of the editions bear the name of the publisher.

common as it has been since, gained him both admiration and fear. We are told by Fuller,[6] that, at an ordinary in Bath, where our author dined with a numerous company, the servant maid who attended was observed to be more attentive to him than to the other guests. This partiality occasioned an enquiry from Harington, why she was so particularly officious in waiting upon *him?* To which the damsel replied, "I understand you are a very witty man; and if I should displease you in any thing, I fear you would make an epigram of me."

He married the daughter of Sir George Rogers,[7] of Cannington, Somersetshire, by whom he appears to have had eight children.[8] It is not surprising that a man of so volatile a disposition, and so gay a turn, amid the favours

[6] Worthies of Somerset, p. 28.

[7] The son of Sir Edward Rogers, who fled into France to avoid the persecution in the reign of Queen Mary, but returning on the accession of Elizabeth, was appointed comptroller of the houshold. See Mr. Lodge's valuable Illustrations of British History, i. 307.

[8] This is shown by an epigram addressed "to his wife, after they had been marryed fourteene yeare." Lib. ii. Ep. 72.

of a court, and the flattery of dependants, should be profuse in his expences. Though his fortune, therefore, was considerable, (for Fuller tells us he was a poet in all things but in poverty,) yet his extravagance was still greater, and he was obliged to part with some of his estates, particularly one called Nyland. Soon after this happened, he was riding over the very spot, and, with his usual pleasantry, said to his man John,

"John, John, this *Nyland*,
"Alas! was once *my land*."

To which John as merrily and truly replied,

"If you had had more wit, Sir,
"It might have been yours yet, Sir."

Which answer (to use our author's own words) makes us feel, that there is often "craft in a clouted shoe."[9]

The brilliancy of his talents, and the vivacity of his temper, did not, however, obliterate the virtues of his heart.[2] A spirit of promoting

[9] See his "State of the Church," vol. ii. p. 155.

[2] To the truth of this observation, which proceeded from the former editor of this work, (whose family partiality therefore

laudable works was manifested on many occasions. One instance deserves to be related: it

may be pardoned,) a very serious objection must be made by those who trace the conduct of our author in his dealings with Mr. Sutton, and who have patience to read the following charges against him, collected from the Talbot papers in the Heralds College.

"Notes of a suit in the Star-chamber, between Edward Rogers, Esquier, son and heir-at-lawe of Ladie Rogers, and Sir John Harington, Knight, son-in-law to Lady Rogers, and others, defendants;" who, being informed that the lady was not likely to live many days, went to Cannington, (without the consent of Lady Rogers) entered the mansion in the company of one Backwaye, the Lady Rogers man, and several others, armed; rifled the house, broke open trunks, chests, and desks, to the number of 40 or 50, took from thence plate, gold, silver, and other things, sent them to his own house, and continued this plundering violence, or "ryott," (as the document expresses it) for three days. Lady Rogers was much enraged when she knew of these proceedings, gave Sir John ill words, and said "he should repent:"—nay, she was irritated, according to one part of the report, to strike him. On the 18th of January, 1601, her ladyship died; upon which all her servants were locked in a chamber for four days, that they might not give notice of her death: no bells were rung or tolled, no neighbour was informed of her decease, but every precaution was taken to cut off all intelligence, and Sir John procured a warrant to apprehend one Middleton, whom he suspected would communicate the report of this event. At length, Sir John is represented to have entered the house in the night, with weapons, and to have sent the Lady Rogers's servants from thence:—but he then affirmed she was still alive, refused to

respects the repairing the abbey church of Bath; to which Sir John was most zealously inclined, and is said to have effected by means of the following stratagem. Conversing one day with bishop Montague, near the abbey, it happened to rain, which afforded an opportunity of asking the bishop to shelter himself within the church. Especial care was taken to convey the prelate into that aisle which had been spoiled of

deliver the possession of the place to her son, (the lawful heir) again rifled the house, burned writings, &c. Sir John being demanded the cause of such proceedings, by Henry Stone, answered—"I should have nothing from thence, and now I came to let Cannington house and demesnes to you, for three hundred pounds."

Sir John's defence ran thus:

That Lady Rogers ever purposed that Edward Rogers should have neither lands nor goods of hers.

That, on the 13th of January, 1601, Sir John had the keys delivered to him by Lady Rogers, and her man Backway appointed to attend him to Cannington.

That the Lady Rogers did not dislike with his going there, but her disquiet arose the next day, from the arrival of Middleton, her son's man.

That Sir John behaved himself quietly on his second visit, and sustained much wrong by Mr. Edward Rogers, (the plaintiff,) of which he had complained in the court of Star-chamber, where he had a bill depending: neither was there any thing proved of defacing evidences, &c. Vol. M. fol. 249.

its lead, and was nearly roofless. As this situation was far from securing his lordship against the weather, he remarked to his merry companion that it did not shelter him from the rain. "Doth it not, my lord?" said Sir John, "then let me sue your bounty towards covering our poor church; for if it keep not us safe from the *waters* above, how shall it ever save others from the *fire* beneath?" At which jest the bishop was so well pleased, that he became a liberal benefactor both of timber and lead; and this benefaction procured a complete roofing to the north aisle of the abbey church, after it had lain in ruins for many years.

The favour of the Queen, it may be presumed, was not solely grounded on her opinion of Sir John's abundant wit and pleasantry.[3] It appears that his general character was such as obtained the esteem of his sovereign, and was the cause of his being employed on occasional services with the most distinguished characters

[3] Mr. Malone remarks that "Sir John Harington was, by the unanimous consent of his own age, considered as a man of extraordinary wit; though his writings would not at this day gain him so high a reputation. They prove however, decisively, that what Dryden would call *clenches*, was then considered as sterling wit." Life of Dryden, i. 244.

of his time. On the appointment of the Earl of Essex to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1599, he was made a commander of horse, under Lord Southampton, in his service.[4] The history of this expedition was found among[5] his papers, with an account of each day's transaction, as delivered to the Queen. On the unexpected and impolitic return of Lord Essex from Ireland, our[6] author was one of the few officers

[4] On this occasion he wrote the following lines "to his wife, *from Chester.*"

"When I from thee, my deere, last day departed,
Summon'd by Honor to this *Irish* action,
Thy tender eyes shed teares; but I, hard-hearted,
Tooke from those teares a joy and satisfaction.
Such for her spouse (thought I) was Lucrece' sadness,
Whom to his ruine tyrant Tarquin tempted:
So mourned she,* whose husband feigned madness,
Thereby from Trojan wars to stand exempted.
Thus, then, I do rejoyce in that thou grievest,
And yet, sweet foole, I love thee thou believest."

[5] See p. 247.

[6] He had been knighted in the field by Lord Essex, which gave much offence to the Queen, who was a great economist in such honours, or at least was inclined to bestow them with her own hand. Vid. Camden, &c.

* Penelope.

whom he chose to accompany him. History has fully informed us what an unfavourable reception was met with by the Earl; and it is not to be wondered at, if the Queen was displeased with those who followed him. By the private letters of our author, we are informed that this was his own case. Yet, at another audience, he speaks of what he felt at the Queen's reconcilement, and says, "he seemed to hear like St. Paul, when rapt up in the third heaven."[7] There is a minute description, in Lord Essex's journal, of his negociation with the Irish rebel Tyrone, at which Sir John was not present:[8] and this might have proved to his advantage. After the return and disloyalty of Essex, the Queen was too much engaged in political embarrassments of various kinds, to take much delight in men of learning, or attend to any affairs which did not immediately concern the public welfare. Our author seems, at this period, to have retired to his seat at Kelston, where he was principally busied in cultivating his estates, and improving that fortune which had been considerably impaired by wearing so long at court.

[7] See p. 310.

[8] See p. 300.

On the accession of James, we find him again brought forth to view; his poetical talents were employed to panegyrise the new king,[9] and he soon became a literary favourite with the monarch, who affected learning, and abounded in pedantry. By King James he was created a Knight of the Bath. A correspondence was commenced, and interviews passed between them.[2]

The "Brief State of the Church," as it stood in King James's reign, was undertaken as a supplement to Doctor Godwin's "Catalogue of Bishops," at a time when the church of England was beginning to be divided into sectaries: and being written by an author of respectability, who was well acquainted with many of the persons whose characters he has drawn, the authenticity of his representations may generally, perhaps, be relied on. He presented the MS. copy of this work to Prince Henry,[3] and intended it

[9] See p. 327.

[2] The conversation which took place during one of these visits is detailed by Sir John in a letter to Sir Amias Pawlett. See p. 366.

[3] This copy is now reposited in the British Museum, and

only for the private use of his Royal Highness; but, being published many years afterward, by his maternal grandson, Dr. Chetwind, it created much clamour, and made several of our clergy say, that the writer's conduct agreed with his doctrines; since he, together with Robert, Earl of Leicester, supported Raleigh, in his suit to Queen Elizabeth, for the manor of Banwell, (belonging to the bishoprick of Bath and Wells,) on a presumption that the Right Reverend Incumbent had incurred a *præmunire*, by marrying a second wife.[4]

Our author's zeal for church government favoured this undertaking, and so great was his dislike to the favourers of Puritanism, that it is said he committed his son to the care of one of the most rigid observers of those tenets, from a full persuasion that nothing would be more effectual to make him detest their principles, than to be conversant with them. Whether this was the real case, cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained; but it is reported that the son was

has enabled the present editor to supply many defects, and to correct many hallucinations, in Mr. Harington's reprint of Dr. Chetwind's faulty text.

[4] See New Biog. Dict. Art. Harrington, and Muses' Lib.

inclined to favour puritanical doctrines, and made a conspicuous figure in the parliaments of Charles and Oliver: so little did the father's care avail, in guarding the son from those errors he wished him to avoid. Indeed, the experiment was too dangerous to be adopted by a prudent or sensible parent, and requires more satisfactory evidence before it be admitted as a fact, than mere traditional rumour.

Fuller, Collier, Dryden, and others, have spoken with respect of our author's abilities as an English writer, considering the age he lived in: and in Stowe's Annals, he is enumerated among those excellent poets which worthily flourish in their own works, and lived together in Queen Elizabeth's reign. He had formed a plan, it is said, for writing the history of his own times, but did not live to execute it. He died in 1612,[5] aged fifty-one. Collinson records the following memorials, as placed within the communion rails of the church at Kelston.

"In memory of Sir John Harington, knight, 1612; and Lady Mary, wife of Sir John, daughter of Sir George Rogers, 1634."

[5] He was visited at Kelston, on the 18th of May, 1612,

His translation of "Ariosto," with "Apologie of Poetrie" prefixed; his "Ajax," "Epigrams,"[6] and "School of Salerne," with the "State of the Church," are the only productions hitherto published. Many other manuscripts, both in prose and verse, were left behind him. Peck, in his Desiderata, (vi. 13.) speaks of "Verses on the Death of Mary Queen of Scots, by Sir

by Robert, Earl of Salisbury, who found him "sick of a dead palsy." See Bowles's Diary, in Desid. Cur. vi. 13. But he did not die till the December following.

[6] A MS. copy is in the public library, Cambridge, and contains nine or ten epigrams which had not appeared in print, till they were inserted by Mr. Reed in the European Magazine for Jan. 1789. A transcript of them was obligingly made by Mr. Professor Porson, for the present work, before this circumstance was known to the editor. That the epigrams of Harington were popular in their day, is attested by the successive impressions they underwent; but they have little now to recommend them, unless for the purpose of contemporary illustration. By friendship or flattery, however, a poetical longevity was decreed to them in the following lines:—

"Still lives the Muses' Apollonean son,
The Phœnix of his age, rare HARINGTON!
Whose *Epigrams*, when time shall be no more
May die, perhaps, but never can before."

Beedome's Poems, 1641.

Other encomiastic verses to the honour of our facetious knight, may be seen in the epigrams of Fitzgeffrey, Stradling, Owen, Hayman, Sheppard, Davies of Hereford, &c.

John Harington;" MS. manû Fleming. His entire version of the Psalms is in the collection of Francis Douce, Esq. An inedited poem, entitled "England's Poverty," occurs in the catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. but in the catalogue only; and a poetical "New Year's Gift to King James," is preserved in the college library, Edinburgh. His "Succinct Collection of Historie," and his "Compendious Observations on the Emperors Lives," are spoken of in "Ulysses upon Ajax," a feeble retort on Harington's Cloacinean satire: respecting which tract the ingenious Mrs. Cooper committed a laughable mistake, in supposing it to have been "meant for a *court-amusement*." That lady's laconic character of our knight is less inaccurate, and may therefore suitably close this brief account of his life.

"Sir John Harington appears to have been a gentleman of great pleasantry and humour; his fortune was easy, the court his element, and wit, not his business, but diversion."

Muses' Library, p. 297.

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MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS,

&c. &c.

The Ordinances, Statutes, and Rules, made by JOHN, LORD TIPTOFTE, Erle of Worcester, Constable of England, by the Kings commaundement, at Windsore, 29 Day of May, Anno sexto Edwardi Quarti; [1466] and commanded in Eliz. 4; [1562] to bee observed or kept in all manner of Justes of Peaces[2] Royall, within this realme of England. Reservinge alwaies to the Queene, and to the ladyes present, the attribution and gifte of the prize, after the manner and forme accustomed: to be attributed for their demeritts according to the Articles ensueinge.

How many waies the prize is woone.

1. First, Who so breaketh most speares, as they ought to bee broken, shall have the prize.

[2] Lord Orford, in his Noble Authors, reads *Peirs*, from a MS. in the Ashmolean collection, and this seems to be the more intelligible term.

2. Item, Who so hitteth three times, in the sight of the healme, shall have the prize.

3. Item, Who so meeteth too times, cournall to cournall, shall have the prize.

4. Item, Who so beareth a man downe with stroke of a speare, shall have the prize.

How many waies the prize shall be lost.

1. First, Who so striketh a horse shall have no prize.

2. Item, Who so striketh a man, his back turned, or disgarnished of his speare, shall have no prize.

3. Item, Who so hitteth the toile (or tilt) 3 times shall have no prize.

4. Item, Who so unhealmeth himselfe two times shall have no prize, unlesse his horse doe faile him.

How broken speares shall be allowed.

1. First, Who so breaketh a speare, between the saddle and the charnell of the healme, shall be allowed for one.

2. Item, Who so breaketh a speare, from the cournall upwards, shall be allowed for two.

3. Item, Who so breaketh a speare, so as hee strike his adversary downe, or put him out of his saddle, or disarmeth him in such wise as hee may not runne the next course after, or breaketh his speare cournall to cournall, shall be allowed as three speares broken.

How speares broken shall be disallowed.

1. First, Who so breaketh on the saddle shall be disallowed for a speare-breakinge.

2. Item, Who so hitteth the toyle once, shall be disallowed for two.

3. Item, Who so hitteth the toyle twice, shall, for the second time, be abated three.

4. Item, Who so breaketh a speare, within a foot to the cournall, shall be adjudged as no speare broken, but a fayre attaynt.

For the prize to bee given, and who shall be preferred.

1. First, Who so beareth a man downe out of the saddle, or putteth him to the earth, horse and man, shall have the prize before him that striketh cournall to cournall two times.

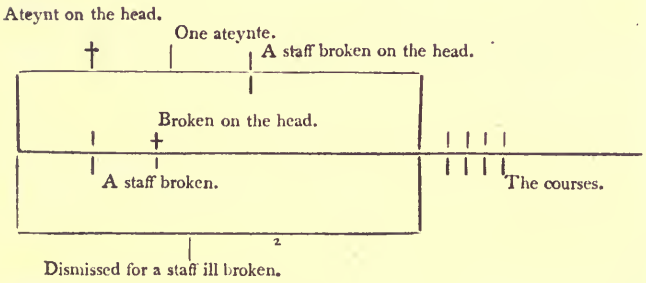
2. Item, Hee that striketh cournall to cournall two times, shall have the prize before him that striketh the sight three times.

3. Item, Hee that striketh the sight three times, shall have the prize before him that breaketh most speares.

Item, If there be any man that fortuneth in this wise, which shall be deemed to have abiden longest in the field healmed, and to have runne the fayrest course, and to have

given the greatest strokes, and to have holpen himselfe best with his speare, he shall have the prize.

(Subscrybed) JOHN WORCESTRE.



AT TOURNAY.

Two blowes at the passage, and tenne at the joyninge, more or lesse as they make it. All gripes, shockes, and foule play forbidden.

[2] This mode of *marking* at the courtly game of JUSTS, is inserted from two of the Harleian MSS.

How Prizes at Tournay, and Barriers, are to be lost.

He that giveth a stroke with a pike from the girdle downwarde, or under the barrier, shall winne no prize.

He that shall have a close gauntlett, or any thinge to fasten his sworde to his hand, shall have no prize.

He whose sword falleth out of his hande, shall winne no prize.

He that stayeth his hand in fight on the barriers, shall winne no prize.

He whosoever shall fight, and doth not shewe his sword to the Judges before, shall winne no prize.

Yet it is to be understood, that the chaiengers may winne all these prizes against the defendantes.

The mainteiners may take aide or assistance of the noble men, of suche as they shall like best.

[3]*Prizes given by the Queene's Majestie to the Challengers.*

Erle of Oxford, ...A tablet of diamonds.
Charles Howard, ...A chayne.
Sir Henry Lea, ...A ring full of diamonds.
Sir Christopher Hatton, A chayne with a bell of gold.

Defendants.

Tilt, ...Henry Cary, ...A chayne.
Tournay, ...Lord Henry Seymour, ..A diamond.
Barrier, ...Thomas Cecill, ...A ruby.

[4]*The Size of Banners, Standardes, Pennons, Guidhommes, Pencels, and Streamers.*

An emperors banner shal be sixe foote longe, and of the same breadth.

A kinges banner of five foote.

A princes and a dukes banner, 4 foote.

[3] Added from Harl. MS. 6064.

[4] Added from MS. Harl. 2358.

A marquys, an erles, a visconts, a barons, and a banneretes banner shall be but 3 foote square, and so was the olde forme: feete after the standarde.

Some holde that the banner of a bannerett shalle be but two foote square, and so was the olde foorme: But now because thire worshippe and power is increased, they have it of 3 foote.

The usuall banner for the estates laste above named, is a ell longe and yarde brode.

A banner serveth for a knight of the garter, a bannerette, a baron, a viscounte, an erle, a marquyse, a duke, a prince, &c.

Place under a banner a C. men.

STANDARDE.

The great standarde to be sette before the kinges pavilion or tente, not to be borne in battell, to be of the lengthe of a eleven yardes.

The kinges standard to be borne to be slitte at the end, and vij yardes long.

The erles standard vj yardes long.

The barons standard v yardes longe.

The bannerettes standard iiij yardes and the haulfe longe.

The knightes standard 4 yardes longe, everye standard and guydhomme to have in the cheife the crosse of St. George, to be slitte at the end, and to conteyne the creaste or supporter wyth the posy, worde, and devise of the owner.

Place under a standard an hundrid men.

PENNON.

A Pennon must be two yardes and a haulfe longe, made ronde at the end, and conteyneth the armes of owner, and serveth for the conduct of 50 men. Every knighte maye have his pennon, if he be cheife captayne, and in it sett his armes. And if he be made bannerett, the kinge or the lieutenant shall make a slit in the ende of the pennon, and the heraldes shall raze it owte; and when a knight is made bannerett, the heralds shall bringe hym to his tente, and receave

for thire fees iij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.* for everye bachelor knight, and the trumpettes xx *s.*

Note, that an esquire shall not have his armes displayed in the feelde, but he maye weare his cote.

GUYDHOMME.[6]

A Guydhomme must be two yardes and a haulfe or three yardes longe, and therin shall no armes be putte, but onelye a man's creaste, cognoysance, and devise; and from that, from his standarde and streamer, a man maye flee, but not from his banner or pennon, bearinge his armes.

Place under a guidhomme 50 men, by the conduct of an esquire or a gentleman.

PENCELS.

Pencelles or flagges for horsemen muste be a yarde and a haulfe longe, wyth the crosse of St. George, the creaste or worde.

[6] See the Guydhomme, or Guidon, described in Grose's Milit. Antiq. ii. 258.

STREAMER.

A STREAMER shall stand in the toppe of a shippe, or in the forecastell, and therein be putt no armes, but a man's conceipt or devise, and may be of the length of 20, 30, 40, or 60 yardes. And it is slitte as well as a guidhomme or standarde, and that maye a gentleman or any other, have or beare.

The under-written Memorandum was found (among other curiosities) in the Cabinet of the late JOHN BROWNING, Esq. of Barton, near Bristol.

ITEM, That Maister Canynge[6] hath deliver'd, this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470, to Maister Nicolas Petters, vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe; Moses Conterin, Philip Barthelmew, procurators[7] of St. Mary Redcliffe, aforesaid; a new sepulchre well gilt with golde, and a civer[8] thereto.

Item, An image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance

[6] This Maister Canynge makes a prominent figure in the Rowleian figments. He was ordained Acolythe, and received the higher orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest, in 1467-8. See Tyrwhitt's Introduction prefixed to Rowley's poems. The present antiquarian relique did not make its appearance in print till after the death of Chatterton. It has been incorporated by Mr. Barret into his motley compound of real and supposititious history, p. 578.

[7] Barret reads *proctors*.

[8] Cover.

that 'longeth[9] thereto'; (that is to say) a lathe made of timber, and the iron-work thereto.

Item, Thereto 'longeth Heaven, made of timber and stain'd clothes.

Item, Hell, made of timber, and iron-work thereto, with divels to the number of 13.

Item, 4 Knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes and 2 spears, with 2 pavés.[2]

Item, 4 payr of angels wings for 4 angels, made of timber and well painted.

Item, The Fadre, the crowne, and visage; the ball with a cross upon it, well gilt with fine gould.

Item, The Holy Ghosht coming out of Heaven into the sepulchre.

Item, 'Longeth to the 4 angels 4 chevelers.[3]

[9] Belongeth.

[2] A pavice was a large shield that covered the whole body.

[3] Supports.

The Monks Hymn[4] to Saunte Satan, chauntede daily in their cells, till goodlie Kynge HENRY spoyled their singing, 1546.

O TU qui dans oracula,
Scindis cotem novacula,
Da nostra ut tabernacula,
Lingua canant vernacula,
Opima post jentacula,
Hujusmodi miracula,
Sit semper plenum poculum,
Habentes plenum loculum.
Tu serva nos ut specula,
Per longa et læta sæcula,
Ut clerus ut plebecula,
Nec nocte nec diecula,

[4] The music of this hymn, as given by Sir John Hawkins, is a canon in what the musicians call sub diapason and diatesseron, a practice peculiar to the learned in that period of time, when Tallis flourished, whose works abound in such laboured compositions; and no wonder his scholars adopted the manner of their master, who was so truly excellent.

N. B. It is here printed, according to the directions of Sir John Harington, in 24 divisions, which, says he, is the mystical number of the Austen Friers at Genoua, every frier singing a verse, and a brother answering him.

Curent de ulla recula,
Sed intuentes specula,
Dura vitemus spicula,
Jacentes cum amicula,

Harington published this *Black Sanctus** in his " Metamorphosis of Ajax," 1596, with the following additions, which were charged by an anonymous critic with " some error, in deviding Ætius from Atheos." Ulysses upon Ajax, 1596.

" Then sutable to this hymne, they had a dirge for AJAX, with a prayer to all their chief saints whose names begin with A.

Sauntus Ablabius
Sauntus Acachius
Sauntus Arrius
Sauntus Aerius
Sauntus Aetius
Sauntus Almaricus
Saunti Adiaphoristæ
Saunti 11000 Anabaptistæ
Et tu Sauntis Atheos
} Ora pro AJAX.

And so ended the blacke Sauntus. Some

* It is remarked by the Rev. Mr. Nares, in a work to which the readers of English poetry may look forward with avidity, that this ridiculous *Sanctus* was only a parody of a serious service of that name, used in times of great mourning. It was employed also, he adds, as a general term for any very barbarous noise or jargon, in the disguised form of *black saunt;* as in the satires of Marston, &c. &c.

" The language that they speake,
Is the pure barbarous *black saunt* of the Geate.
MS. Poetical Dictionary.

Quæ garrit ut cornicula,
Seu tristis seu ridicula,
Tum porigamus oscula,
Tum colligamus floscula
Ornemus ut cœnaculum,
Et totum habitaculum,
Tum culi post spiraculum,
Spectemus hoc spectaculum.[5]

Some of these denied the Godhead of Christ with Arrius; some, the authority of bishops as Aerius: which you may see in Prateolo *de vita hæreticorum*. Almaricus denied the resurrection of the body, which is an heresy that mars all, as St. Paul saith, I. Cor. xv. 14. "Then our faith were vain."

[5] "These lines (says Sir J. Hawkins) are certainly corrupt, but as they are singularly humorous, and nearly resemble the facetious rhimes of Walter de Mapes, who lived in the time of Hen. II. and, as Camden says, filled England with his merriments; the following translation has been attempted, under all the disadvantages that must arise from the obscurity of an original so difficult to be understood.

O thou! who, utt'ring mystic notes,
The whetstone cut'st with razor,
In mother-tongue permit our throats
Henceforth to sing and say, Sir!

To rich, material breakfasts, join
These miracles more funny—
Fill all our cups with lasting wine,
Our bags with lasting money.

Mr. Cheeke[6] to King Edward, [1547.]

BECAUSE I am departing, my sovereigne lord, unto the king of all kings, Almightie God, and must, by his appointment, leave you, whome

To us a guardian tow'r remain,
Through ages long and jolly;
Nor give our house a moment's pain,
From thought's intrusive folly!

Ne'er let our eyes for losses mourn,
Nor pore in aught but glasses;
And sooth the cares that still return,
By couching with our lasses;

Who loud as tatling magpies prate,
Alternate laugh and lour;
Then kiss we round each wanton mate,
And crop each vernal flow'r,

To deck our rooms, and chiefly that
Where supper's charms invite;
Then close in chimney-corner squat,
To see so blest a sight!"

Hawkins' Hist. of Music, v. 438.

[6] "This letter was written at a time when Mr. C. in consequence of a fit of illness, thought himself in certain view of a

of long tyme I have done my best to bring up in vertue and good learninge; and you are now comming to a government of your self, in whiche estate I pray God you maye alwaies be served with them that will faithfullye, trewlye, and playnlye give you counseill: I have thought it my dutie, for a memorie of my last will, and for a token of my well-wishinge unto you, (remayning presentlye[7] with me, even as it hath alwaies heretofore done) to requyre you, yea, and in God's behalf to chardge you, that, forasmoche as yeares bothe have and will diminishe in you the feare of man, to have yet before your eyes continuallye the fear of God: with the which if you do not direct, order, and temper all your doings and sayings, be you well assured neither to have good success in the greate chardge that he hath com-

speedy decease. It displays much wisdom and integrity, with a grateful remembrance of the writer's friends." See Kippis's *addenda* to the Life of Sir J. C. in Biog. Brit. Ascham, his contemporary, describes Sir John Cheke to have been "the cunningest master, and one of the worthiest gentlemen that ever England bred." He was knighted in 1551, and died in 1557, at the age of 43. A "royall elegie" on K. Edw. VI. by Sir John Cheke, was printed in 1610. See Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 158.

[7] i. e. at present.

mitted to you, neither in th' end to enjoye that joyfull place that is promysed *timentibus eum.* For if God do right extreamlye ponishe men of base estate, and of low degrees, for wanting of that necessarie jewell, which hath in scripture so many promeses: how sevearly will he ponishe kings and princes failing thearin, in whome the lack thereof must needes be both to themselves, and to the commonwealth, most perillouse.

My weaknesse suffereth me not so long to talke with you in this matter as I could wishe, and your Majestie's disposition (which I know most apt to receave all godlie admonitions) putteth me in comforte to thincke this to be sufficient; beseaching God so to direct all your doings, thoughts, and meanings, as may tend to his glory and your honour and wealth, both heare and in the worlde to come, when by death you shall be called thereunto; to the whiche all men, as well princes as others, as well yonge as old, are subjecte: most affectuouslye[8] beseachinge your Grace, if any of your servaunts about you shall francklye ad-

[8] i. e. passionately, ardently.

monishe you of anye thinge whiche in you may be mislyked, to take it at their handes, and thincke them that shall so doe, to be your only servants of trust; and to consyder them, and to rewarde them accordinglye. And if anye suche shall be, that shall of all things make fair weather, and, whatsoever they shall see to the contrarye, shall tell you *all is well;* beware of them, they serve themselves, and not you.

And whereas you have readd, in the tyme that it hath pleased God to lend me unto you, dyvers discourses of dyvers sortes, as well of stories, as of philosophie, wherebye you have had proffit, and plentie of grave and wise rules and orders for the good government of your realme; yet, in myne opinyon, among them all, none hath so abundantlye furnished you in those points, as hath Aristotle; to whome I beseach you, for those matters, often to resorte, and especiallye to two chapters in his Politiques, the one *de mutatione regni, etc.* and the other *per quæ regna servantur*, being the tenth and eleventh chapters of the S. of his Politiques.

For your divinitie, I wolde wishe you wold

diligentlye contynew the reading of the New Testament, with *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Proverbs*.

And, understanding that it hath pleased you (sithen[9] the tyme of my sicknesse) to send unto me manie comfortable messages, and among the rest, that you have appointed (moche unto my comfort) the wardshipp of my sonne to his mother; like as I do therefore render unto your Grace my most humble thancks so to do, I with like humbleness desyre you (my great debts consydered) to remitt to hym, if all shall be too moche, yet some convenient peece of such lands as, during his noneage, shall fall unto you.

And, whereas I shall now leave my colledge in Cambridge destitute of an headd, if your Grace appoynt thereunto Mr. Haddon,[2] I think you shall appoint a worthie man.

[9] i. e. since.

[2] Walter Haddon, president of Magd. Coll. Oxon. In Fleming's "Panoplie of Epistles," 1576, he is joined with famous Ascham for rare learning and knowledge. Nash says "his pen would have challenged the laurell from Homer;" but this is hyperbolic praise. The compliment paid to him

Finallie, one sute charitye moveth me to make unto your Majestie: The Bishop of Chichester[3] was my bringer-upp, and at his hands I gate an entrie to some skill in learning; lyving, I could never do hyme anye good whereby I might be accompted a grateful scholler; if dyeing, I might attaine for hym libertie, with some small aide of lyving, I should be moche bound unto youe; thinking most assuredlye you shall fynde of hym, during his lyfe, bothe a dailye beadesman for you, and a right obedient subject; thoughe, in some things heretofore, he hathe more throughlye perswaded his conscience, then to the perfection of Christe's religion was requisyte.

Thus the lyving God preserve your Majestie long to raigne most prosperouslye. Out of my death bedd, &c.

by Q. Eliz. redounds more to his honour. Being asked whether she preferred Haddon or Buchanan, as men of learning? she replied, "Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono." Fuller's Worthies of Bucks, p. 136.

[3] George Day, the deprived Bishop of Chichester.

A Letter[4] from the celebrated Mr. Cheeke, 1549, to Mrs. Penelope Pie, [Daughter of Sir William Pie].

MRS. PENELOPE,

(For that verie name, wee thinke to be moste pleasinge to you, as containinge in it selfe manye sweete comforts, and manye good lessons.)

THE love that wee had to youre father, the truste that he had in us, and the hope that wee have of you, with oure desier to continewe that love, to answere that truste, and to see ffeinte[5] of that hope, have moved us to leave youe thus muche of our meaninge in writinge; whereof to youe this is the advantage, more then of speache, that by readinge youe maie heare it as

[4] This letter has been very justly pointed out by Dr. Kippis as "an admirable composition, abounding in piety and good sense, and affording a happy instance of purity and correctness of taste, at a period when literary men, in general, had not emancipated themselves from an uncouth and pedantic phraseology." Biog. Brit, iii. 491.

[5] *Qu.* fruit? See the close of this letter.

oft as you will, to the ende that youe maie imprinte it as deep as you shall have cause, and remembre it as longe as it may doe youe good. Of your good acceptacion and appliaunce wee have soe much truste, as wee have of your wisdome to proffit your selffe.

You are to have in minde whoes you are: firste, the child of God; secondlie, the dowghtre of Sir William Pie; thirdlie, the chardge of your father's freendes. Eache of theise respects hath sundry consideracions, bothe of comforts and helpes that they ministre, of dewties that they laie uppon youe, and of meanes and orders how to use theme.

In that youe pertaine to God, theise be youre comforts, that he is able to defende and upholde youe; that his purpose of preservinge youe is constant and from eternitie; that his foresight for youe cannot be deceaved; that his care for you never seaseth; that his promisses are infallible; and that whatsoever happeneth is by his ordinaunce; and whatsoever happeneth by his ordinaunce, howsoever it seemeth to sence, it is in deed good for youe that be his; that he shall contynewallie[6] guyde

[6] Continually.

youe, he shall prosperouslie blesse youe, he shall eternallie save youe.

Your dewties to him are, that youe depende wholie upon him; that you have full faithe and affiaunce in him; that youe reverentlie love him; that youe lovinglie feare him; that youe honour him, and frame your selffe as he himselffe hath appointed; that youe make his commaundements the rule of your life, and charitie the marke that youe be his.

The meanes of attaininge and usinge theise, stande in hearinge the worde of God, in praier, and in order of conversation.

In hearinge the worde of God, whether it be by the voice of others pronouncinge, or by youre selffe readinge, youe are ever to thinke that God speaketh to youe. In praier, either publick or private, youe are to remembre that youe speake to God. In conversation, either open or secret, in close place or in hidden thoughte, youe are not to forgett that youe walk in the eye and sight of God. In hearinge God speake to youe in his worde, knowe, that He speaketh that made youe, that seeth

youe, that shall judge youe, that hathe powre to damme and save youe; whose worde is, to the beleeving and obedient, *the savour of life unto life;* but, to the unbeleeving and disobedient, it is *the savour of death unto death;* theirfore heare it humblie with reverence.—Knowe, that he speaketh to youe that loved youe, that chose youe, that adopted youe, that redeemed youe, that preserveth youe dailie, and will save youe for ever; therefore heare it with love and joifulnes. Knowe, that he speaketh to youe that is perfectlie wise, unfalliblie true, and unchaungiblie constante; theirfore heare it with heedfulnes, belieffe, and assuraunce. Knowe, that he speaketh that will have accompte howe youe harde him; therefore heare it with care, that youe maie receive it to fruite. This that youe maie well doe, do it often and with diligence.

In praier, when youe speake to God, knowe that youe have attained the honor to be admitted to the presence and speach of the unspeakeable Majestie, infinitelie passinge the hiest princes; therefore praie with humbleness.—Knowe, that youe speake to your Father that loveth youe, to him that calleth youe, to him that hathe promissed to heare youe, to him

that joyeth in hearinge youe; theirfore praie with love and confidence. Knowe, that youe speake to him that understandeth the bottome of your harte, and regardeth none but hartie praier; praie theirfore with a cleane harte, which he seeth; with a true, unfained harte, which he understandeth; with a loving harte, which he embraceth; with a bolde assured harte, which he encourageth; and with a hole harte, which he challengeth.

In your conversation, knowe that it extendeth to God, to your selffe, and to other: to God, in the rules of religion; to yourselffe, in the precepts of vertue; to other, in the dewties of obedience, kyndnes, truth, and charitie.

Of religion youe are to keepe theise rules that God, in his owne worde, hathe delivered, knowinge that none other can please God; and therein remembre a wise and godlie meaninge of your late natural father, whoe hartelie wished that, without spendinge time in variaunce of questions, the people mighte be diligentlie instructed in twoe things:—The one, of sufficiencie of salvation by onlie[7] Christe; the other,

[7] By Christ alone.

the sufficiencie of doctrine in the onlie worde of God.

Of vertue in your selffe the perfect rule is to obeye the commaundements of God; for, as the onlie breatch of his will is sinn, soe the followinge onlie thereof is vertue; therefore let that be your generall care to live accordinge to your callinge, that is, accordinge to his will that called youe in his grace, and accordinge to your owne vowe and promisse that youe proffessed in your baptisme; and, for perticuler respecte that youe are a woman, remembre that as justice and fortitude are the more proper vertues of men, and the greater shame for men to lacke theme; soe chastitie, shamefastnes,[8] and temperaunce, are the more peculier vertues of women, and the greater shame for women to offend therin.

Prudence is more common to bothe; yet, in execution towards other, and in publick exercise, more perteining to men; but, in governaunce of them selfes, and in affaires at home, it is as mutche belonginge to women. But in this whole parte of your life that concernethe

[8] Shamefacedness.

the rule of your selffe, have ever before your owne eyes, that you stande before the eyes of God, his angells, saincts, and amongst those also your father; whatsoever theirfore youe shall doe, know theire is noe place secret; and, for the doinge of what soever thinge youe will flee the sight of men, remembre yet that God, his angells, his saincts, and your father, looke upon youe, and the daie shall come when all heaven and hell shall see it. And nowe and then call to minde, that one of the greatest paines in hell is shame, when secret thoughts shall lie open. And that theirfore David soe ofte praieth to be preserved from confusion and shame, and pronounceth him *blessed whose sinns are hidden.* But, for the hiding of sinns, theire is no coveringe but God's mercie; and the mercie of God, as it is gotten with humble repentaunce and true faithe, soe is it loste by desperation, and driven awaie by presumption.

Of your behaviour towards other, of which all above youe are comprised in the name of *father*, and all equall and inferior to youe in the names of *brother* and *neighbour*, remembre theise three rules: for your superiors, that to them youe be sutche, as youe wolde your children and inferiors to be to you: for your

equalls and inferiors, that in justice youe doe as youe wolde be done unto: and in charitie youe keep Christe's rule, *to love theme as yourselffe;* not forgetting, that in the poore is imputed the person of Christ himselfe. Nowe, for the respect that youe be the doughter of your late father, theise thinges youe are to remembre: what he was to the consideration of others, and what he was to youe. Hearof your comforts be theise, that he was a noble gentleman, wyse, of honorable minde, endowed with manie singuler ornaments, dearlie beloved of manie and the best sorte, and to yourselffe most natural and lovinge.

The dewties whearwith these respects doe burden youe, are,—that youe remembre his noblenes and vertues, and therfore that youe endeavor to be no staine to his worthines, and no blemyshe to yourselffe in not approching to lickness of him, whose nearnes to you, in nature and truthe, wil be most judged by your resemblaunce of him in vertue and deservinge; youe are to remembre he was wise; youe must therefore be carefull that youe discredit not his last worke of wysdome, in leavinge his worldlie things to youe, as uppon whome they sholde be well bestowed, and by whome they sholde

be well used, with refusinge other, whome the ordinarie course of lawe had sett before youe. Youe are to remembre howe dearlie he loved youe; and theirfore youe maie not forget his kindenes, but naturallie requite it in followinge his precepts, and in honoringe his name with your well doinge, that youe maie everye waie be trulie said, the dowghter of Sir Willm. Pie, to his praise and good memorie, and not to his disworship[9] and infamye.

The means for youe to honor your father are, that yourselffe deserve honor by vertue; for, as youe have succeeded in his place, and therbie (after a sorte) doe beare his person, soe the praise or dispraise of your good or ill doinge shall redound to youe bothe. Remembre to whome he lefte youe, howe he lefte youe, and with what conditions. If youe be wiselie governed, youe are a woman of great valewe and largelie advanced; if not, a poore maide and fallen from mutche, which is worse then if youe had never had it. In all your doings, theirfore, and in all advises, eyther given youe by other, or conceived by yourselffe, cast this in your minde, to thinke what your *father* wolde have liked, if he had lived.

[9] i. e. discredit.

Nowe, as towchinge your father's freendes and yours, whose chardge you be by commission; and all his and your other freendes whose care youe be for love to him; theise be your comforts: your father was mutch beloved, and theirfore youe have many freendes; your father was a lover of true religion, and theirfore youe have christian freendes; your father was a true freende, and theirfore youe have assured freendes; your father was a wise man, and theirfore youe have well-chosen freendes: Good freendes are great treasures.

Theise respects laie theise dewties upon youe: That youe open your purposes to theme; that youe be advised, and ruled by theme, accordinge to your fathers meaninge.

The meane to do this to your benefitt is, to consider that your father's said freendes are of two sorts; some that wishe youe well, and have care of you by affection; and other that have alsoe speciall charge of youe by your fathers commission. Of those that love youe for your fathers sake, the nombre is great; some honorable, some worshipfull, some of meaner callinge; and all readie to doe youe goode, and gladd to heere well of youe. They are to be

used as good-will deserveth, as kyndnes requireth, and as consideration of your owne benefitt to be taken of theyr ayde and freendshipp advysethe.

Of those that have chardge of or for youe by your fathers appointment, theare are alsoe twoe sorts:—The one be those that have the governaunce of your person, the regard of your bestowinge, and the administration of the goodes that he hath liberallie lefte youe; I meane your fathers executors: the other are those to whome your father hathe in confidence for youe assured his landes, with suche conditions and further limitacions as in the conveyaunce theirof, in dewe fourme of lawe passed, more plainelie maye appeare; whearin your chieff benefit dependeth uppon your owne good governaunce, beinge yett soe restrained by your father's pollicie for your safetie, that youe have no choise lefte to the frailtie of youre owne minde, but wholie to the staie and advise of other.

Nowe, towchinge your fathers executors and your governors, it is to be noted, that they be chosen owt of your father's deerest

freends. They be knowen most honest gentlemen, christianlie affected for religion, and theirfore, for conscience, will deale trulie with youe; and above all things will not assent to yoke youe with a papist, or other enimie, or person ignorant of christian faithe.

They pertaine to nobilitie in their birthe and place, and theirfore will have regard theirof for youe, and of their owne worshipps for themselves in your bestowinge. They be wise, and theirfore you maie trust that they will foresee to your proffitt. They be lovinge to youe, and of freendlie usadge; theirfore youe shall have no cause to hasten the chaunge of your state, till youe be fullie sure of a bettre. They have great chardge of youe, and much importinge their conscience, and their good fames and reputacions; and theirfore will not forgett to thincke of youe in good time, that they maie be disburdened. Theye be of sufficient state and honor, theirfore theye nede not to make any marchandise or proffit of youe. Theye be well assisted with stronge overseers and freendes; and theirfore they will be carefull to acquite themselves with well-doinge, and careles of the powre of anye to contende against their good meaninge. Theye be fowre, ha-

vinge jointe powre and not severall, and theirfore be both surer for youe against corruptions, and stronger against unproffitable practises.

Towchinge your fathers feffees,[2] some be honorable, some be worshipfull; all be esteemed honest, and all be suche, as will preciselie followe your father's meaninge. Theise be your comforts in theise speciall freendes.

Nowe, theise be your dewties theirbye: That youe be governed by theme; that youe observe the conditions of your fathers meaninge; that youe soe be ruled, ordered, and bestowed, that youe maie have the proffit, and youe with them, honor, worship, and comforte.

The meane for youe this to doe is, that youe remembre this chardge that is committed of your governaunce, and your great losse, if youe faile in the saide conditions.

Be youe wholie careles of your bestowinge, as a thinge not pertaininge to youe, tyll it be brought youe orderlie; give your selffe onlie to vertuous exercises, that the good fame of your

[2] Feoffees; trustees by will.

owne person maie give furtheraunce to your governers to make your bargaine withe the beste, which shall be, if these things concurr to advaunce the valewe of youe; your fathers provision of goods and livinge, your owne storinge your selffe with good conditions, your fame therbie to move the worthiest to desier youe, and your freendes wisdome and diligence to judge the meetest for youe. Beware that youe soe order your selffe in the principall point, that youe give no impedient[3] to their good provision for your bestowinge. In that, they are not onlie your fathers freendes, but alsoe in some sorte, in lawe, they bear your fathers person, youe must accompt your selffe to them as deare, and theirfore must, to theme, be as obedient as their naturall childe. In that they be christians, as your father was, and no papists, you must beware of familiaritie of papists, men or women. In that they be honest, youe must frame your selffe to the same vertues, and beware of unhonest practices, which youe shall knowe by this marke:—If they speake or move any thinge to youe, which youe in your conscience shall thinke they wolde not, or durst not, speake

[3] i. e. impediment.

or move in the open hearinge of all your governors together. And lett that be to youe a speciall note; for sowch maie move suche matter as, being harkened unto, maie by forfeiture undoe youe; and, in this pointe, remembre to use the familiaritie, companie, and attendaunce of suche as the good accompte made of theme maie add to, and not abate from, your owne good estimation. In respect that your governers be of worshipfull callinge, as your father was, have youe a great regard to the like state, and to suche qualities as maie beseeme the same; whereof your father was a noble president, bothe for warre and peace, in valiantnes and in learninge, in armour and in bookes, and in the singuler ordre of theme bothe. He, in the speciall expresse wordes of his will, for preferringe bothe librarie and armorie, with other circumstances, wee will not saie, hathe directlie pointed to, but he hath, at least, plainly pointed owt the manner of man that he hathe wished, and souch as they accordinglie will provide for youe. In that they be wise, remembre youe to take the ffeinte of their wisdome; what matche soever youe shall like of, let them rule the hole ffourme of bargaine for your advauncement in livinge, the assuraunce to youre children, and otherwise; which youe

shall be able to doe, if youe keep yourselffe free till theye have concluded; or ellse not, for he that holdeth youe once intangled will discende to noe covenaunts, but as he listeth for himselffe, and not as shalbe advised for youe. Besides that unwiselie youe lose your owne wholie, if youe neglecte their counsell. In that youe knowe they will be carefull, that theye maie be speedilie disburdened, learne youe to leave the care to theme, and to sitt quiet and dischardged of care to make any haste withowt theme. In that they have no nede of youres, hold youe assured, whatsoever they altogether shall doe for your mariadge, they doe it wholie for youe.

And this onelie for themselves, that they maie have acquitall towardes God and your father, worship toward the worlde, and comfort to theire owne consciences by their sincere doinge with youe; and theirfore youe must boldlie rest upon theme, and doe nothinge withowt theme. In that theye be soe stronglie assisted, youe must gather trust that theye be able to defende youe, that theye shall not dare to deale corruptlie, nor feare to doe uprightlie. In that theye be fowre, and have jointe chardge, youe must hearken to th'advise and consent of all,

and learne of theme all, whoe now be all in one stead of your father, what they all shall deliver youe for direction, as your fathers meaninge. In that your father hathe appointed youe education and custodie in one place, youe must gather, that soe wise and loving a father did not soe for nothing, nor made that speciall choise rashlie, or to noe purpose (nor to any other purpose) then bothe for some speciall great good, and some speciall certaine note to youe; which wee leave to the workinge of God by his good disposinge of your owne harte, and consente of your said freendes; and doe wishe youe to praie to God to revele to you your father's intentions, to frame your owne affections, and to applie the agreeinge counsaile of your governours.

Towchinge your fathers ffeffees, in confidence of the lands prepared for youe, remembre theye be your father's trustie frenndes. Better freendes than your father chose wee thinke youe shall never finde.

Be bolde theirfore to use and trust theme; but, withall, remembre their confidence is, in your father's deedes, bounde to a precise forme of your good governaunce, which if youe

breake, theye cannot helpe youe; and the rather, for that the remainders after youe are suche as will carye favour against youe. Remembre also one speciall thinge, that in defence of the title against suche as maie be greeved with your preferment and their owne rejection, and their-bie move trouble; the favour that youe maie winn by your vertues that shall give helpe to your righte; and matters of mislikinge, or untowardnes, maie bringe youe mutch hinderaunce and other perill, and great pitye and furtheraunce to the other side.

Wee will recite no other discomodities[4] and perills, that maie aryse by contrarie advises against your fathers meaninge; for wee lothe to remembre them, and we have mutch better hope of youe.

Thus mutch we have of good-will to pursewe towards youe out of affection to your father, whose ornament wee heartilie wishe youe to bee. To good purpose, wee trust, this shall succeede with your wise takinge and well followinge; whearof wee shall have our parte of joie; or at the leaste, if it fall otherwise, wee shall carrye

[4] i. e. disadvantages.

the dischardge of honest and true freendes.—And Mrs. P. as wee have begonne, soe shall youe ever finde us diligent and carefull to foresee and travaile for your profitt, (while youe shall remaine vertuous and worthie of your father) and ever plaine, true and faithfull to advise and informe you; desierous to have your father's fame honored in youe; ourselves to carrye comforte to have bene of the chosen freendes of soe excellent a man as your father, and to see the fruite of our honest advises in a vertuous and happie gentlewoman, his daughter. God keepe youe in his loving fear! God guyde youe and blesse youe!

Mr. Cheeke to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector in the Reign of Edward VI.

The letters whiche your Grace sent to the universitie for the better expedition of the visitation, hath encouraged mens studies merveilouslye to the further desyre of learning, and established the doubtfull myndes of some wavering men, which tooke all unknown matters

to the worst, and feared shadows of mistrusted things, whereof they had no cause. Wherefore, your Grace, in myne opinion, hath done a verie beneficial deed to the schooles, whose head and chauncellour you be, in speeding out of hand this visitation; and shall make herebye a nomber of honest and learned men to serve the King's Majestie faithfullie in their callinge another daye, which is one chief point of everie subject's dewtie to labour in: and heareby all sortes of students knowing the King's Majestie toward in hope of all excellencie to learning; and your Grace holding the stearne of honor, not only ordering all matters of counseille with wisdome, but also consydering the furtherance of learning with favour; be stirred and enabled to attaine to a greater and perfecter trade of learning, not unbehovable for the commonwelthe, nor unserviceable for the King's Majestie, nor unpleasant to your Grace, by whose authoritie it now the better springeth.

For whiche cause I suppose among other, the Kings Majestie hath great occasion to give God thanks, that not onlye in his minoritie his realme is governed at home with your sage, auncient counseill, and defended from the foreigne incursion of great and powerfull adversaries, but

also provision is made for learned men to serve his Grace hereafter; whose use shall be necessarie for the realme, not onlie for religion, but also for civill causes. And therefore as I may say boldly to your Grace, I, often thinking of his Majestie, trust he will nowe make hym (according to all mens certain expectation) worthie another day so noble an unckle; and so toward a nomber of youthe prepareing themselves aforehand to serve his Majestie's commonwelthe hereafter: which he cannot do onlye by greatness of naturall witt, whereof he hath suffityent, except he adjoyne also experience, (the very ground-worke of all wisdome,) wherein his Majestie best shall be advertised by you. For all learning, be it never so great, except it be sifted with moche use and experience to the fynest, can be no wisdom, but onlye a voide and a waste knowledge; and therefore this kynde can be learned by no booke, but onlye by diligent hearing of sage and experiet[5] connseillours, and following more their good advice, who dothe foresee the greatnesse of daungers to come, unconceaved and unthought of by others, then their owne suddeine fancies, whoe, for lacke of farther insight, do judge their own conseile

[5] *Qu.* experient? i. e. experienced.

best, because they do perceave in themselves no reason againste themselves; althoughe there be in the thing itself, and wise mens heads, never so moche to the contrary. Wherefore, as his Majestie hath alwaies learned, so I trust he laboureth daylie to avoide the grownde of all errour, that self-pleasing which the Greekes do call Φιλαυτια; when a man delighteth in his own reason, and despyseth other mens conseill, and thincketh no mans foresight to be so good as his, nor no man's judgment compared to his owne: for, if there be any wisedom, it is conferringe with many wise heads, and of divers good counsells, to chuse oute one perfect, and so to follow that whiche reasonable experience leadeth a man wittie unto. And, if there be any hynderaunce and stoppe to wisedome, it is wheare fancie favoureth a mans owne invention, and he hath a better opinion of his own reason then it deservith indeede, and so alloweth it to be good, and sticketh to his sence by self-love; or ever he know what it is worth by proofe of reason; and therefore is not constant therein by judgment, but headstronge bye willfullnesse.

And this thing is to be avoyded diligentlye of all, and especiallye of the King's Majestie, now in this tendernesse of his youth; because everie

fault is greatter in a king than in a meane man, and also faults rooted in this age do not onlye grow to a greatnesse, but also they utterlye take away the likelihoode of divers good vertues, which ellse would spring freshlye in it. I do wish therefore oftentymes, that which the King's Majestie was wont to labour in, that he contynewed to be an academike, slow to judge, glad to heare all men, mistrusting his owne reason, takeing trouthe to be hidden, and so not to be founde at the first sight; thinking wisdom either to be in men of experience, or ellse in no men; and alwaise perswading hymself in his youthe, which Socrates belived when he was olde, that *he knoweth this onlye thinge, that yet he knew nothing;* and so shall he best avoid the bottomless dangers, unknowen faults, which will ells unwarse[6] creepe into his minde. Not only in warrfare but also in peace, it is daungerouse for a publique person to say, *Had I wist*,[7] to excuse the matter, with a *putavi* to maintaine on that reason whose beginninge is grownded on

[6] Unawares.

[7] Had I *wist*, i. e. *known*, seems to have been a proverbial expression. It is introduced by Heywood in his Dialogue and in his Epigrams upon English Proverbs; and forms the title to a grave ditty in the Paradise of Dainty Devises.

an errour. The Kings Majestie knoweth herein half what I meane, and the sure safegarde of wisdome and happinesse is to avoide the first fault which is first commanded to be avoyded in "Tullie's Offices."[8]

But what meane I to wryte this to your Grace, especially knowing the Kings Majestie's nature, how gladd he is to follow your Graces good advertisements,[9] and willing to obaye all those whoe be put in truste about hym. I have no cause to mistrust, but love is full of feare when there is no cawse, and my dewtie ready to admonishe aforehand, for feare of a cawse; and yet my hope is there will be no cawse; for I cannot (by nature as a subject, by dewtie as a servant,) but contynually wyshe to his Majestie daylye increase of God's merveilous guifte well begunne in hym, and to your Grace moche honour for the great bourdeine of unsufferable paynes which you sustaine in his minoritie for his cawse; not doubting but, as God of his

[8] viz. "The taking up of things upon trust, and flattering ourselves that we know more than effectually we do." Lib. i.

[9] i. e. admonitions. So Shakspeare, in "Much ado about Nothing,"

——————"Give me no counsel;
"My griefs cry louder than *advertisement*."

goodnesse dothe prosper all your affaires with good successe, so will the King's Majestie, as he is moste bounden, thanckfullye consyder and liberallye recompence, another daye, theise your infinite travailes in his commonwelthe.

Sir John Cheeke to my Lord Pagett.[2]

I WOLDE I colde with wordes make your lordshipp feele my wante combred[3] with other adversyties, but no wordes can worke it in your lordshipp, that hath not felte the like. I wolde be sorie, fortune shold ever have so throwne youe to feele extremitie; and my desier is, your lordshipp wolde rather helpe than feele it, seeing your feelinge sholde onlie be to helpe. Yet methincke, sicknes whearewith your lordshipp hath oftentimes been [4]arrased, and my wife is hevilie towched withall at this present,

[2] *Probably* William, Lord Pagett, who held the office of Secretary jointly with Sir William Petre, in 1543, and died in 1563. See Lodge's Illustr. of Brit. Hist. i. 50.

[3] i. e. encumbred.

[4] i. e. harassed.

maie shadowe my evell unto you. All time seemethe longe and painefull to the sick, if they have not that which they presentlye call for, although in deed it cannot be so sone made readie as they looke for; they thincke themselves evell kepte, not diligentlie looked unto, and appear somethinge froward until they have that which they call for. This, no man imputeth to the nature of the sicke, but of the sicknes; everie lacke maketh them beleeve they be dispised; namlye, if they judge not suche speed made, as in fancie they judge maie be used. If anye of theise wants be in me, I beseeche your lordshipp appoint[4] them to my extreme state, more greevous then disease; more unquiet then pryson; more troblesome to me then a painful deathe. Ye aske me whie? When I looke of other that hang holie[5] of me, that looke to be fedd, clothed, brought up; what minde have I? When I loke on my wife, sick in bodie, tormented in minde, and cannot helpe with remedie that is diseased with paine; had I not as leve be greevouslie sick, as miserablie needie? The earnester my mind is hearin, the more I praie youe thinke the cause is, that

[5] i. e. impute.

[6] i. e. wholly.

straineth me unwillinglie to be thus desirous of some good ende. I write this to your lordshipp, who, I trust, in authoritie *maie*, and in frendshipp *will*, helpe not onlie to do me good, but alsoe to speed it; with such praise as ye have gayned in doinge liberallie for others, and such safetie as free and liberal doings doth gard you, and binde other honest men in all tornes[7] of times constantlie to be yours. Thus, trustinge your lordshipp will frendlie remembre my undone state, I commend my selffe to your lordshipp, and you, my lord, and yours, t'Almightie God.

From Stooke,[8] the 23d of December, 1553.

Sir John Cheeke to Sir John Mason.[9]

My departing out of my contrey greevith me not, (whoe had as leeve grow aged a-broad with

[7] i. e. turns.

[8] The deanery of Stoke, by Clare, in Suffolk, was granted to Sir John Cheeke and Walter Mildmay, in 1548, 2d. Edw. VI. Vid. Tanner Notitia Monast.

[9] Master of the Posts in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and, under Edward the Sixth, a Secretary of State, Master

experience, as ruste at home with ydlenesse;) but the myserye of my wife and children, whoe must needes wantt by my going, and could gayne nothing by my taryeng. My hope is partlye in my wyves sute, (whoe shall be more pitied in myne absence, being so bare lefte, then she shoulde be amongst women, if I had taryed;) and in your friendshipp, whoe thinck myself to lack no parents as long as you and my Ladie liveth. I beseeche you, therefore, afore your departure, commend my cause to such frends as you thinck best, and obtaine that their extreamytie of justice be not wreacked on me, that have not moste deserved it; lett them chuse some other to be their examples, in whome they may fynde better cawses, and feare more daunger. Lett my nature witnesse my meaninge, and my frends my faultes; wherein, whate successe soevever I have, (whiche can not be good in this slacknes of deserved frends, and creweltie of undeserved enemys,) I shall thinck and thanck you

of the Requests, and "a man of learning and gravity, says Camden, but a great devourer of church lands." He was for some time Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Treasurer of the Chamber to Q. Elizabeth. He died in 1566, according to Lord Burleigh's Memoria Mortuorum, in Murdin's collection of state papers.

no lesse then I ought to doe hym, whose good will is hindred by other mens abilitie, and not by his own slacknesse.

If you will have me do any thing for you in theise quarters, or in any parte where I journeye, send me word, I pray you, and you shall fynde nether my redinesse nor my good will wanting. And thus, with my commendations to you and my mistress, I betake you to the lyving Lorde, whoe alwaye governe you.

From C. [Calais?] the 4th of Aprill, 1554.

Sir John Cheeke to John Harington, Esq. [Father of the Poet.]

I COULD not take my leave of you at my departure, and geve you such thanckes as your frendshipp in myne adversytie deserved; and therfore I coulde no lesse then, at my going out of the Englishe pale, do that absent by letters, whiche I wolde have done present, and offer myself and my good will to be yours during my lief. You may say it is nothing.

It is not in deede; a man without havour,[2] and a will without habilitie; yet is it all I have, and therefore the greatest thing I can geve you; not worthie your frendshipp, but not unfitt for my offer. I pray you, therefore, take me as a man myndfull of your desert, and readdye to wishe you suche continewance in honour, as your wisdome and frendshipp is worthie of.—My desyre is of the same continewance of good will towards me that you have hitherto borne me; whiche you shall fynde me as worthie, I trust, of, and as needeful as afore. This you shall shewe it moste to me, if you will pittie and helpp my wifes poor estate, being miserable of it self, if your frendshepp helpp not her extreamitie. I am gone to seeke for my self, I have lefte my children and her to her selfe and her sute, whose relief is onlye in the Queens goodnesse and your frendship; herein as occasion serveth you, if you helpp a pittifull woman, overladen almoste with the greatnesse and

[2] i. e. haviour. In a note to Cymbeline, Act III. Sc. 4, Mr. Steevens has suggested that this word should not be printed as an abbreviation of *behaviour*. It occurs, however, with the mark of elision, in a poem entitled "Phyala Lachrymarum," 1634.

"With *'haviour* speaking nothing, save neglect
"Of all."——

deversitie of miseries, you shall do worthie your accustomed and knowen frendshipp; you shall bynde me bothe at home and abroad to beare you that good will that your contynewal good mynde toward me hath alwaye deserved. If there be any thing in theise coastes which I passe throughe, that I may stand you in any steede, I pray you commaunde me as your owne. The living God kepe you in his feare, and increase you in honour and godlynesse!— Fare you well.

From Calais, the 4th of April, 1554.

Sir John Cheeke to the Lord Paget.

I am ashamed to *desyre* moche of your lordshipp, whom I ought to *thanck* more, and yet am compelled to do bothe; the one for your frendshipp shewed me in theise tornes of fortune; the other for the contynewance of the same to my wife and children in myne absence. I am gone abroad to seeke some stay of lyving, whiche I rather lose then fynd in England: and hope (althoughe I being moche in displeasure can obtaine nothing for myself) yet there will

some just respect be hadd of my wife and children, whoe neither are worthie to be ponished, having not offendid; nor unworthie to be done for, that live justlie in the realme; wherein, as I know your Lordshipp can do moche, so I trust your Lordshipp will do what you can; having no cause to favour me but of your own gentlenesse, and yet a league of frendshipp to favour Master M.[3] familie. I beseeche your Lordshipp, therfore, althoughe no mans frendshipp can do me anye great good in this state of things, as it plainlye appeareth; yet that examples be not shewed on my wife and children, being ordred in a common faulte, as no man is besydes me. And, althoughe I am a refuse now, and an outcast of all men, yet I trust not to fynde all worldes and places so hard unto me, that I shall not once be able to be myndfull of my friends benefitts. And as I have learned to doubt of prosperitie, because it will not alwaies stand; so have I hope of adversytie, that is not infinite. And of all treasoure that honour bringeth, and adversytie toucheth not, the greattest and surest is, (my Lord, I have felt it well,) to know how manye of right be bownde to do for one, if throwse[4] of adversytie over-

[3] *Qu.* Mason?

[4] i. e. throes.

turne his state: which thing, if youe labour in as your honour servith, thinck you geat therbye the frewte of honour, and shall in adversytie (if any do betide you) bynde men without sute to be sutors for you, or ellse, not without shame, to be indifferent. Of this vertew I praye you lett me be partaker, whoe in your trouble,[5] bare you suche good will as I may of dutie crave some again nowe; and desyre this moche, that your Lordshipp will of gentlenes, (at my poore request) helpp my wyfe in her sutes, as far as reason and convenientcie shall favour her cause; being left in debte 1200*l.* and more; beinge voide of all living to helpp her and hers; having the lack of her husband for the extreamitie of fortune, and in worsse case in lack of me than in losse of me.

Theise great myseries I beseeche your Lordshipp with your frendshipp relieve, and, thoughe you cannot utterlye ease all, yet helppe to minishe[6] the greatnesse of severitie, untollerable

[5] Perhaps, when he was prisoner in the Tower, 1552, whither (as Stowe relates) Garter King at Arms was sent, by Edward VI. "to fet and take from the said Lord Paget his Garter and George."

[6] This diminutive occurs as a participle in Ps. cvii. "They are *miiiished* and brought low."

to the troubled, when all lyving is taken, and nothing is left but lyfe. Your Lordshipp shall bynde me herebye to beare you suche good mynde as your contynewall frendshipp doth justlye deserve. And thus, with mine humble commendations to your lordshipp and my ladye, I commit you to the government of the everlyvinge Lorde. From C. [Calais] the 14th of April, 1554.

Sir John Cheeke, to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

Howe myserable my things be, whoe neither have wherewith I may provyde for my wife and children, or else to mayntayne my self, it is lyttle neede to wryte unto your lordshipp, whoe knoweth the same. There remayneth only my sute, wherein I requyre[7] moste earnestlye of your lordship, that it wold please you to use that authoritie (by whiche whome you list you can do good to) towards the aide of me, that needes it. I heare the Queene's most no-

[7] i. e. request. So Prov. xxx. 7, and Psalm xxvii. 4.

ble Highnesse, pitieng the extreme state of my case, hath referred unto your lordship to take order in my matters, after what sort your lordship listeth. Therefore, all lyeth nowe in your hand, that either of this endles myserie you maye ease me, or ellse may cast me into extreame beggerie.

You aske by what cawses I am leadd to crave of you boldlye anye benefitt? First, for your gentlenesse; next, for my myserie; then, for the reasonablenesse of my sute. I am an inferiour, am a peticioner to the highe chauncelour; and greevouse it must be to me, if your lordship heare the bills and humble supplications of all maner of outcasts, and myne onlye should be rejected as unliked, or refused as forsaken. Here you aske me for my worthyness? I lay none; I seek it onlye of your gentlenesse. Is it anye great thinge althoughe your lordship esteeme me onlye unworthie? Oh! how fitt vertue is for a nobleman, a chauncellour bishopped. All are bound to this maner of pitifulnesse, but chieflye it is requyred of rulers. Here declare your self moste noble, Sir, and how moche the more you can imagen whie for myne owne sake you should do nought, so moche the more let your vertue be, and suffer

your nobled humanitie to overcome the contrarie perswasions. This I assure you of, if anye thing lye in your hart against me, it is setlid more of opinion than of cawse; neither can it be proved by anye, that your lordship, in the greattest throwes of your fortune,[8] was so moche as in worde hyndred by me; althoughe I take not uppon me the whole of vertewe, yet this I may say truly of myselfe, (whether it was wrought of judgement, or pittifullness of nature,) that I have beene merveilouslye sturred at all adversytie, and in that kinde have proffited some, and hurte none; and therein I have not onlye had the uncertayne ends of things my movers, but also Paule my auct-hour. Let this further me to your lordship now, and *that* your lordship wold greatlye commend, if you heard it of other; reject it not whollie, because it is said of my self.

[8] Gardiner had suffered a severe imprisonment in the reign of Edw. VI. The following anecdote of this imperious prelate, exhibits a striking trait of character. Lord Cromwell, reproaching him for being deprived of his bishopric, said, "Where now, Sir Bishop, is all your *gloria patri* become?"—"Even as it hath pleased my liege, the king; (replied Gardiner:) nevertheless, *sicut erat in principio*, so am I still, my lord, as good a gentleman as yourself." Copley's Wits, Fits, &c. 1596.

What greatter myserie than this of myne can there be? I am lefte bare of all; rightlie, I deny not; yet bare am I made, and, in a common cawse, suffer greevonser ponishement than others that weare in the same faulte. Here I envye not other, to whom the Queenes highnesse was mercifull; but I crave the same mercye in a lyke cause: not of dewtie, but of grace I seeke. For my frends knowe, that I was bothe constrained, and laste (in a manner) brought into the snare; and your lordship also, perhapps, when you weare an examyner of those matters, perceaved that I was rather a looker on than a plaier, and on no syde coulde be reproved, but for that as was the common faulte of all. But thus yet stand things: nothing is lefte me now. I am in others debt 1200*l.* My wife and my children must be maintained. Here your lordship seethe that I am not in such case that I seeke worshippe,[9] but lyvinge: if this be not needefull of sute, or if your lordshipp's goodness helpp not herein, I wot not what greater myserye toward me youe might looke forr. For deathe trulye cannot be to me so bitter, as this daylye and conti-

[9] i. e. dignity. The writer does not sue for honours, but for the means of subsistence.

newinge extreamytie of myserye. Now I doubt not but your lordship seeth I have most reasonable cawses to serve, whoe am forced of so hard a necessitie to be sutour for your goodnesse, from which I know you cannot withdrawe your good will. If I sought greatter, or not necessarie things, there weare some cause to denie me; I desyre onlye that somewhat may be given to pay others debt, and to maintaine me and myne; wherein my myserable poore wife hathe of longe tyme been sutour to your lordship. What needeth moche to your lordship, so wyse and so busyed? This, in brief, I requyre; that of your goodnesse you wold ease this my myserable estate, whiche I heare the Queene's Excellentcie hath referred to your lordship. The Lorde preserve you, and store you dailie with the worshipping of God and trewe honour!

From P. [Padua?] the kalends of December, 1554.

Sir John Cheeke to Queene Mary.[2]

WHEREAS it hath pleased your Highness to extende your gracious mercie towardes me, and somethinge to mitigate the severitie whearwith justice of lawe might greviouslie have burdened me; although I might many waies extenuate my faulte towardes your Highnes, (thoughe not absolutelie by it selfe, yet in compairing my doings with other mens, and shewinge my minde far from the farvantnes that other had in this cause:) yet, because the greater my faulte is, the greater is your Highness mercie shewed on me; I will not abase my faulte, lest I sholde thereby diminishe your Highnes goodnes bestowed on me; which, as it is most notable of all God Almightie's vertues, soe it is moste comendable in theme, who, in authoritie on earth, have the office and name of Goddes.

[2] Sir John Cheeke, from his zeal for the protestant religion, had been induced to approve the settlement of the crown on Lady Jane Grey, and had acted for a short time as one of her secretaries. Upon Q. Mary's accession, in July 1553, he was consequently dealt with as a traitor, and committed to the Tower, but afterwards obtained the Queen's pardon, though his estates were confiscated for her use.

My humble request is, that as it hath pleased your Highnes mercifullie to grante me my life, and justlie to call into your handes the libertie of my bodie, landes, and offices, given unto me by your most noble brother, King Edward the Sixth; your Highnes would have some pitye on me, my wife, and children, and graunte me somethinge as it shall seeme convenient to your Highnes, to leade out that lyfe, which your Majestie hath graunted me to enjoye. The Kings Majestie, your father, gave me by grante (afore his deathe) of Rufford, to the valewe of fiftie pounde a yeare; which was conferred unto me after, in our late soveraignes time, King Edward the Sixt, unto whome also I resined above 200*l.* a year in fees, for those lands which his Majestie, for my litle abilitie to serve hime, did bestowe on me; the particulars whearof I declared to your Majestie's commissioners. If therefore, in consideration of King Henry th' Eight your most noble fathers guifte unto me, and for my longe and painfull service unto the most noble king, your brother, and for those fees during lief which I resigned when I received the King's beneficial graunts made and geven to me; and especiallie of your gracious mercifulnes, (whearof the hole number of fau-

ters[3] hathe liberallie and beneficiallie felte) your Highnes wolde likewise pittie me and myne, and ad to my lief some livinge and libertie to maintaine my lief. I trust your Highnes shall thincke this your beneficiallnes[4] bestowed on a poore and faithfull subject to your Highnes; whoe will not fail, as long as God shall lend me lief, to use all kynde of a subjects dewtie unto your Highnes, as muche as nature, diligence, and faithfulnes, be able to lead me.

John Harington, Esq. to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

My Lord,

Thys myne humble prayer dothe come wyth muche sorrowe for anie deed of evil that I have done to your lordshippe; but, alass! I knowe of none, save suche dutie to the Ladie Elizabethe as I am bounden to paye her at all times;

[3] *Fautors*, abettors; or perhaps *faitours*, evil doers, as Minsheu explains the word to have been used in the statute, vii Rich. II. c. 5. Chatterton has employed the term *faytours* for *travellers*, in one of his poems attributed to Rowley. See Barret's Bristol, p. 462.

[4] Beneficence.

and, if this matter breedethe in yow suche wrathe towardes her and mee, I shall not in thys myne imprysonmente repente thereof: My wife is her servante, and dothe but rejoyce in thys owr miserie, when we looke withe whome we are holden in bondage. Our gracious Kynge Henrie did ever advaunce our families goode estate, as did his pious father aforetyme; wherefore our servyce is in remembraunce of suche goode kyndnesse. Albeit, there needethe none other cause to render our tendance, sythe the Ladie Elizabethe beareth suche pietie and goodlie affection to all virtue. Consyder, that your lordshippe aforetyme hathe combatede with muche lyke affliction: whye then should not our state cause yow to recounte the same, and breede pity to uswarde? Myne poore Ladie hathe greater cause to waile than wee of suche small degree, but her rare example affordethe comforte to us, and shamieth our complaynte. Why, my good lorde, must I be thus annoy'de for one deed of speciall good wyll to the Ladie Elizabethe, in bearynge a letter as was sente from one that had such ryghte to gyve mee his commande, and to one that had such ryghte to all myne hartie sarvyce? Maie God inclyne yow to amende all thys crueltie, and ever and anon

turne our prayer in goode and mercyfulle consyderation. My Lorde Admyrale Seymor[5] did trulie wynn my love amydst this harde and deadlie annoyance: now, maie the same like pitie touche yowr harte, and deal us better usage. Hys sarvyce was ever joyfule, and why must thys be afflictynge. Myne auncient kyndred have ever helde their dutie and leige obeysaunce, nor wyll I doe them suche dyshonour as maie blot out their worthie deeds, but wyll ever abyde in all honestie and love. If yow should give eare to myne complaunte, it wyll bynde me to thankfullie repaie thys kyndnesse; but if not, will contynue to suffer, and reste ourselves in God, whose mercie is sure and safe; and in all true love to *her*,[6] who dothe honoure us in tender sorte, and scornethe not to shedde her teares with oures. I commende youre

[5] Sir Tho. Seymour, Knt. brother to the Protector. Upon K. Edward's accession he was constituted Lord High Admiral, and created Baron Seymour of Sudley. He married Queen Katherine Parr, soon after the death of Henry VIII. and his ambitious efforts to overthrow his brother's authority, brought him to the block, on the 20th of March, 1548-9.

See Lodge's Illustr. i. 112.

[6] The Princess, afterward Queen, Elizabeth.

lordeshippe to God's appointemente, and reste sorely afflictede.

JOHN HARYNGTON.[7]

From the Towre,
1554.

Words spoken by the Queene to the Lordes, at her Accession, 1558.

[Not in D'Ewes' Parl. Journ. of Q. Eliz. Reign.]

"MY Lordes, the law of nature moveth me to sorrowe for my sister: the burdaine that is fallen upon me maketh me amazed;[8] and yet, consydering I am God's creature, ordeined to obay his appointment, I will thearto yelde, requiringe from the bottome of my hearte, that I may have assistaunce of his grace, to be the minister of

[7] Father to Sir John Harington.

[8] i. e. confounded by a variety of business. See Mr. Steevens's explication of the word, in Cymbeline, Act iv. Sc. 3.

"I am *amaz'd* with matter."

And in the "Ship of Safegard," 1569, a poetical voyager is said to be "*amased* with mists."

his heavenlie will in this office nowe committed to me. And, as I am but one bodie naturallye consydered, though, by his permission, a bodie politick to governe; so I shall require you all, my Lords, (chieflie you of the nobilitie, everie one in his degree and powre) to be assistant to me; that I with my rulinge, and you with your service, maye make a good accompte to Almyghtie God, and leave some comfort to our posteritie in earthe. I meane to direct all myne actions by good advice and counseill, and thearfore, at this present, consydering that divers of you be of the auncient nobilitie, having your beginninge and estates of my progenitors, kings of this realme, and thearbie ought in honour to have the more naturall care for the mainteyning of mye estate and this commonwealth. Some others have bene of long experience in governaunce, and enabled by my father, of noble memorie, my brother, and my late sister, to bear office: the rest of you being uppon special trust lately called to her service onlie and trust, for your service consydered and rewarded; my meaning is to require, of you all, nothing more but faithfull harts, in suche service as from tyme to tyme shall be in your powers towardes the preservation of me and this commonwealth. And, for counseill and advice,

I shall accept you of my nobilitie, and suche others of you the rest, as in consultation I shall thinck mete, and shortlie appointe; to the whiche, also, with their advice, I will join to their aide, and for ease of their burden, others mete for my service; and they which I shall not appoint, lett them not thinck the same for anie disabilitie in them, but for that I consyder a multitude doth make rather disorder and confusion than good counseill, and of my good will you shall not doubt, using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subjects."

Words spoken by the Queene to Master Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh. [1558.]

"I GIVE you this chardge, that you shall be of my Privie Counseille, and content yourself to take paines for me and my realme. This judgement I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with anie maner of guifte, and that you will be faithfull to the state, and that, without respect of mye private will, you will give

me that counseile that you thinck best: and if you shall know anie thinge necessarie to be declared to me of secreasie, you shall shew it to myeself onlie, and assure yourself I will not faile to keep taciturnitie therein. And thearfore hearewith I chardge you."

The Oration[9] of the Commons-House, by the Speaker, Thomas Williams, Esq. to the Queene's Majesty. [An. 5 Reg. Eliz. A. D. 1562-3.]

"THE commons in this present parleament assembled, moste highe and mightie Princes, and our mooste gracious and renowned sovereigne, as they daylie to their greate commoditie and comforte, doe feele and receave th' inestimable benefits of your moste gracious government of this your realme in peace and suretie; so do they also moste thanckfullie ac-

[9] This oration, or petition, has been printed, with little material difference, in D'Ewes's Parliamentary Journals; but is here retained for the sake of Q. Elizabeth's answer, which does not appear in that publication.

knowledge the same, beseeching Allmightie God long to blesse and continewe your moste prosperous raigne over them. And amongste all theise benefites, which they dailie receave of your Highnes, they have at this tyme willed me to recognise unto your grace that they accompt it not the least, but rather amonge the greatest of them all, that your Majestie hathe at this tyme assembled your parleament, for supplieing and redressing the greatest wants and defaults of your commonweale, and for establishing the suretye of the same; whiche your Majesties moste gracious meaning hath bene by your commaundement signified unto us by the right honorable the Lord Keper[2] of the Great Seale, namelie, in this, that he willed us first to have consideration of the greatest matters, that nearest towched the state of your realme, and the preservation thearof. Seeming thearin also to expresse unto us the conformitie of your Majesties mynde in having principall respect to the matters of greatest weight, and for that purpose assembling this your parleament. And for as moche as your said subjects see nothing in this whole estate of so great importaunce to your Majestie and the whole realme, nor soe necessarie at this tyme

[2] Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knt.

to be reduced to certeintie, as the sure contynuance of the governaunce and imperiall crowne thearof in your Majesties moste royal person, and the most honorable issue of your boddie, whiche Almighty God send us to our highest comfort; and for want thearof, in some certain limitation to guide the obedience of our posteritie.

And whereas Almightie God, to our great terrour and dreadfull warning, hath touched your Highnes with some daunger of your moste noble person by sicknes, from which so sone as your Grace was by Gods favour and miracle to us recovered, your Highnes presentlie caused this parleament to be sommoned; by force whearof your said subjects, now assembled, are, both by necessitie and importaunce of the matter, and by the convenience of the tyme of calling them, immediatelye uppon your recoverie, in effect inforced to gather and conceave that your Majestie, of your moste gracious and motherlie care for them, and their posteritie, have called this parleament; principallie for th' establishing of some certain limitation of th' imperiall crowne of this your realme, for preservation of your subjects from certeine and utter destruction, if the same shulde not be

provided for in your life, which God long continew.

They cannot, I say, but acknowledge, how your Majestie hathe moste graciouslie considered the great daungers, and th' unspeakable miseries of civil warres, the perillous entermedlings of forreyne princes, with sedicious, ambicious, and faccious subjects at home, the waste of noble howses, the slaughter of people, subversion of towns, intermission of all things pertaininge to the maintenaunce of the realme, unsuretie of all mens possessions, lives, and estates, dailie enterchaunging of attainders and treasons. All these mischiefes, and infinite other, are moste likelie and evident; if your Majestie shulde be taken from us without a knowen heire, whiche God forbid to fall uppon your subjects, to the utter desolation of the whole, (whearof you have chardge under God) if good provision be not had in this behalf.

Your Majestie hathe waied th' examples of forraine nacions, as what ensued on the death of Alexandre, when, for want of certeine heires by him begotten or appointed, the varietie of titles, the diversitie of dispositions in them that had titles, the ambition of them that (under

colour of doubtfulnes of titles) forsooke all obedience of titles, destroyed the devidours of his dominions, and wasted all their posterities with mutuall warres and slaughters. In whate myserable case also was this your realme, when the title of the crowne was brought in question betwene the two royall howses of Lancaster and Yorke; till your moste noble progenitours, King Henrie the viith and the Ladie Elisabeth, his wife, restored it to setled unitie, and lefte the crowne in certayne course of succession. Theise thinges, as your Majestie hath (uppon your owne daunger) moste graciouslie considered for our comfort and safetie, so wee, your moste humble subjects, knowinge the preservacion of our selves and our posteries[3] to depend upon the suretie of your Majesties moste roiall person, have likewise moste carefullie and diligentlie considered, how the want of heires of your bodie, and of certeine limitacion of succession after you, is moste perillous unto your Highnes, whome God long preserve among us!

We have bene admonished of the great malice of your forreine enemyes, whiche, even in your life tyme, have sought to transfarr the

[3] Posterities.

dignitie and righte of your crowne to a straunger; we have noted theire dailie moste daungerous practises against your life and your raigne; we have hearde of some subjects of this land moste unnaturallie confedered[4] with your enemies to attempt the distruction of your Majestie, and us all that live by youe. We feare a faction of heretikes within your realme, malicious papists, least they (moste unnaturallie against their contrey, unwiselie againste their owne safetie, and moste traiterouslie against your Highnes,) not onlie hope for the wofull daye of your death, but also lye in waite to advaunce some title, under whiche they maye renewe their late unspeakable creweltie, to the distruction of the goods, possessions, and bodies, and thraldome of the sowles and consciences of your faithfull and christian subjects: we see nothing to resist their desyre, but your onlye life. Theire unkindnes and crewеltie we have tasted; we feare moche to what attempte the hope of suche oportunitie (nothinge withstanding them, but your onlie life) will move them; we finde how necessarie it is, for your preservacion, that theare be more sett and knowen betwene your Majesties

[4] Confederated.

life and their desyre; we see, on th'other syde, how theare can be no suche daunger to your Majestie by th'ambicion of anie aparent heire, established by your advauncement for want of issue of your Majesties roiall bodie, as you are nowe subjecte unto, by reason of the desyre and hope we know not of; how manie that pretend titles and trust to succeade you, whose secreatt greedines we so moche more feare, becawse neither their nombre, force, nor likelihoode of disposicion is knowen unto us, and so we can the lesse beware of them for your preservacion. We fynde also, by good proofe, that the certeine limitacion of the crowne of Fraunce hath procured so great quyet, as neither the person of the prince in possessing hath bene endaungered by secreatt or open practises, neither the commonwealth molested by civill dissention, through anie quarrell attempted for the title of the crowne.

And somewhat nearer home, we may also remember the miserable estate whearin Scotland stoode after the death of King Alexander,[5]

[5] Alex. the 3d. who was suddenly killed by a fall from his horse: and, after whose decease, says Holinshed, "the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had ney-

without a certeine limitacion to whome the crowne of Scotland shulde remaine, by reason whearof the whole estate of that realme was lefte open to the ambicion of many competitors, and moste grevous desolacion and spoile, that grew uppon suche devision, [as in the crownicles of the victorie of your moste famous progenitour King Edward the Third, more plainelie appeareth.[6]] Which miserie gave occasion afterwarde to King James the Fifte to limit the crowne of Scotland to certain noble families of that realme; whearby they at this present enjoye that quyetnes and suretie whiche we doe want. And all your Majesties moste noble progenitours, kings of this realme, have in this behalf bene so carefull, that, from the conquest till this present day, this realme was never lefte, as it now is, without a certeine heire living and knowen, to whome the crowne (after the death of the prince) shulde apperteine. So, as your Majestie, of your singuler care for us and our posterities, hath at this

ther left any issue behynde him to succeede in the governement therof, neyther taken order in his lyfe-time by testamente or otherwise, for any other to supply the roomth of a governour."

[6] Not in D'Ewes.

time assembled us for establishement of this great and onlie staye of our sureties, we againe, moste gracious Soveraigne Ladie, acknowledge our selves, and all that we have, to depend upon your preservacion, and being, according to our bounden dutie, moste carefull for the same, we in moste humble manner come to your Majestie's presence. And I, the mowthe appointed for your naturall and loving subjects, togeather with and in the name of them all, do present unto your Highnes our moste lowlie sute and humble petition; that, forasmoche as of your Majestie's person shulde come the moste undoubted and best heires of your crowne, suche as in tyme to come we wolde moste comfortablie see, and our posteritie shulde moste joyfullie obaye; it may please your moste excellent Majestie, for our sake, for our preservacion and comfortes, and at our moost humble sute, to take to yourselfe some honourable husband, whome it maye please you to joyne to you in mariage, whome so ever he be that your Majestie shall chuse. We protest and promes (with all humilitie and reverence,) to honour, love, and serve, as to our bounden dutie shall appertaine; and by the statute whiche your moste noble father assented unto, of his moste princelye and fatherlye zeale to his moste lov-

inge subjects, for the limitacion of succession of th' imperiall crowne of this realme. Your Majestie is the laste expreslie named within the bodie of the same acte: and for that your subjects cannot judge, nor do knowe anye thinge of the forme or validitie of anye further limitacion, set in certaintie for want of heires of your bodie, (whearbie some great daungerous dowte remaineth in their hartes, to their great greife, perill, and unquietnes:) it may please your Majestie, by publication of certaintie allreadie provided, if anie suche be; or ells by limitacion of some certaintie, if none be; to provyde a moste gracious remedie in this great necessitie, whiche, by your moste honorable and motherlie carefulnes for them, hath occasioned this assemblye, that, in this convenient tyme of parleament, upon your late daunger, moste graciouslye called for that cawse; your Grace may now extend unto us that greatest benefite, whiche otherwise, or at other tymes perhapps, shall never be able to be done agayne. So, not onlye we, but all ours, hereafter and for ever, shall owe no lesse to your majesties propagacion of succession, then we doe alreadie owe to your moste famous graundfather, King Henrie the viith, for his unitinge of devision; and your subjects on their behalfe, for your Majesties fur-

ther assurance, whearupon their own preservacion wholye dependeth, shall employ their whole endeavours, witts, and power, to receave, devise, and establishe the most strong and beneficiall actes and lawes for preservacion and suretie of your Majestie, and your issue, in the imperiall crowne of this realme; and the moste penall, sharpe, and terrible statutes and lawes to all that shall but once practise, attempt, or conceave, anie evill againste your Majestie, that by anie possible meanes they may invent and establishe, withe suche limitacions of condicions and restraintes to all in remainders, suche grevous paines and sorrowe, to all that shall enterprise or imagine anie thinge in prejudice of your Highnes and your issue, as your Majesty shall not have anye cause of suspicion, but moste assured grownde and confidence in all your faithfull subjects continuallie watching and warding for your preservacion, (whiche God long continewe!) that you may see your childrens children, to his honour and our comforte; and incline your moste gracious harte to our moste humble petition.

The Queenes Majesties Aunswere to the Speaker.

WILLIAMS,

I HAVE heard by you the common request of my Commons, whiche I may well tearme, as me thinks, the whole realme; because theie geve, as I have herd, in all these matters of parleament, their common consent to suche as be heare assembled. The weight and greatnes of this matter might cause in me, as I must confesse, being a woman, wanting bothe witt and memorie, some feare to speake, and bashefulnes besides, a thing appropriate to my sexe. But yet the princelie state and kinglie rome (whearin God, thoughe unworthie, hathe constitute me) maketh theise twoe causes to seme litle in myne eies, thoughe grevous perhapps to your eares, and boldeneth me (*that* notwithstanding) to say somewhat in this matter, which I meane onlie to towche, but not presentlie to aunsweare; for this so great a demaund nedeth bothe great and grave advise. I read a philosopher, whose deeds uppon this occasion I remember better than his name, whoe alwaies,

when he was requyred to geve aunsweare in any hard question of schole points, wolde rehearce over his alphabete, before he wolde proceade to any further aunsweare thearin, not for that he could not presentlie have aunswered, but to have his witt the ryper, and better sharpened to aunsweare the matter with all. If he, a private man, but in matters of scole toke suche delaye, the better to shew his eloquence, great cause may justlie move me, in this so great a matter touching the benefitt of this realme, and the safetie of you all, to deferr mye answeare till some other tyme; wherein, I assure you, the consideracion of myne owne safetie, although I thank you for the great care that you seme to have thearof, shalbe little, in comparyson of that great regarde that I meane to have of the safetie and suretie of you all: and thoughe God of late semed to touche me rather like one that he chastised, then one that he punished; and thoughe death possessed almoste everie joynt of me, so as I wished then, that the feeble threade of lyfe, whiche lasted me thought all to longe, might, by Clotoes[7] hand, have quicklye bene cut off; yet desyred not I lyfe then (as I have

[7] Clotho: though Atropos seems to have been the destiny whom her Majesty meant to employ.

some witnes heare) so moche for myne owne safetie as for yours; for I knew that, in exchaunge of this reigne, I shulde have enjoyed a better reigne, wheare residence is perpetuall. Theare needs no boding of my bane. I know as well now as I did before, that I am mortall; I know, also, that I must seke to dischardge myself of that great burden that God hathe heare laide uppon me; for of them *to whome moche is committed, moche is requyred.*

Thynk not that I, that in other matters have had convenient care of you all, will in this matter, toching the safetie of my selfe and you all, be careles. For know, that this matter toucheth me moche nearer then it doth you all, whoe, if the worst happen, can lose but your bodies; but I, if I take not that convenient care that it behoveth me to have thearin, I hazard to lose bothe bodie and soule; and thoughe I am determined, in this so great and waightie a matter, to deferr my aunswere till some other tyme, because I will not, in so deepe a matter, wade with so shallowe a witt: yet have I thought good to use theise fewe wordes, aswell to shew you, that I am neither careles nor unmindefull of your safeties in this case; as I truste you likewise do not forgett, that by me you were

delivered, while you weare yet hanging on the boughe, readdie to fall into the modde,[8] yea, to be drowned in the doinge;[9] neither yet the promes whiche you have now made me concerninge youre dueties and due obedience, whearwith I maye and meane to chardge you, as further to lett you understand, that I neither mislyke of your request hearein, nor of that great care that you seeme to have of your owne safeties in this matter.

Lastelye, because I will dischardge some restles headds, in whose braynes the nedeles hammers beat with vaine judgement, that I shulde mislyke this their petition; I say that, of the matter, some thearof I like and allow verie well; as to the circumstances, if anye be, I meane, uppon further advice, further to aunsweare. And so I assure you all, that thoughe, after my death, you may have many stepdames, yet shall you never [have] anye a more naturall mother than I meane to be unto you all.

[8] Mud.

[9] *Qu.* dung?

Mr. Roger Ascham's Letter to his Wife Margaret,[9] concerning the Death of her new-born Child.

MINE owne good Margaret, the more I thinck uppon oure sweete babe (as I do manye tymes bothe daye and night) the greater cawse I alwayes fynde of gevinge thanckes contynuallie to God for his singuler goodnes bestowed at this tyme uppon the chyelde, youe, and me; even because it hath the rather pleased hym to take the chield to hym self into heaven, then to leave it here with us still in earthe. When I mused on the matter, as nature, flesshe, and fatherlye fantasies did carry me, I fownde nothinge but sorowes and care, whiche verie moche did vexe and trouble me. But, at the laste, forsaking theise worldlye thoughts, and referinge me wholye to the will and order of God in the matter, I fownd suche a chaunge, suche a cause of joye, suche a plentie of God's

[9] Ascham, in 1554, married Mrs. Margaret Howe, a lady of good family and fortune, and of whom he gives an excellent character in one of his epistles to Sturmius.

grace toward the chield, and of his goodnes toward you and me, as neither my harte can comprehend all, nor yet my tongue expresse the twentieth parte thereof. Neverthelesse, because God and good will hath so joyned you and me togeather, as we must be not onlye th' one comforte to th' other in sorowe, but also full partakers togeather in any joye; I could not but declare unto you what just cause I thinck bothe we two have of comforte, gladnesse, and joye, that God hathe so graciouslye dealt with us as he hathe.

Mye first steppe from care to comforte was this: I thought God had done his will with our chield, and because God, of his goodnes, knoweth what is best, and by his goodnes ever will do best, I was by and by fullie perswaded the best that can be done is done with our chielde. But, seeing God's wisdome is unsearcheable with any man's hart, and God's goodnes unspeakable with any man's tongue, I will come downe from soche high thoughts, and talke more sensyblie with youe, and laye before youe suche matter, as maye be bothe a full comforte of all our cares past, and also a just cause of rejoisinge as longe as we live.

You well remember our contynuall desyre and wishe, and our nightlye prayer to geather, that God would vouchsafe, by us, to encrease the nomber of this worlde; we wished that nature should beautifullie performe her worke by us; we did talke howe to bring upp our chield in learning and vertue; we had care to provyde for it, so as honest fortune should favour and follow it. And see, sweete Margaret, how mercifullie God hath dealt with us in all theise points: for, what wishe could desyre, what prayer could crave, what nature could performe, what vertue coulde deserve, what fortune could offer, we have receaved, and our chield dothe enjoye alreadye. And because our desyre (thancked be God!) was alwaye joyned with honestie, and our prayers mingled with feare, and applyant alwaies to the will and pleasure of God; God hath geven us more than we wished, and that which is better for us now, than we could thinck uppon then.

But ye desyre to heare and knowe how? Marrie, even thus:—We desyred to be made vessels to encrease the worlde, and it hath pleased God to make us vessels to increase heaven, which is the greatest honour to man, the greatest joye to heaven, the greatest spite to

the devell, the greatest sorrow to hell, that anye man can imagine.

Secondarilie: When Nature had performed that she coulde, Grace stepped forthe, and toke our childe from Nature, and gave it suche giftes over and above the power of Nature, as, wheare it could not creape in earthe by nature, it was made straight waye well able to goe to heaven by grace: it could not then speake by nature, and now it dothe praise God by grace; and yet thancked bee Nature that shee hath done all that she coulde doe; and blessed be Grace that hathe done moche better then we coulde wishe she should do. Peradventure yet you do wishe, that nature had kept it from sicknes, and had preserved it from death a little longer; yea, but grace hath caried it wheare now no sicknes can follow it, nor anye deathe hereafter medle with it; and in steede of a short lief with long troubles in earth, it doth now live a lief which shall never have end, with all inward joye in heaven. And now, Margaret, go to; I pray you tell me, and tell me as you think:—Do you love your sweete babe so little; do you envie his happie state so moche, yea once to wishe, that

nature shoulde rather have followed your pleasure, in keping your chield in this myserable worlde, then grace shoulde have pourchased suche proffit for your chielde, in bringing hym to such felicitie in heaven?

Thirdlye: You maye say unto me, yet if the childe had lived in this world, it might have growen to suche goodness by grace and vertue, as might have tourned to great comfort to us, to good service to our contrey, and afterward to have deserved as high a place in heaven as it dothe nowe. Sweete Margaret, you say trothe, and I believe also it should so have done; but, when I consyder the daungerous passage throughe this worlde, the slipperie waye that youthe hath to walke in; when I see by experience, howe many children, by their frowardnes, be rather a care than a comfort to their parents, and howe that nomber is fewest that groweth to moste goodnes; I quyet my self with God's doing and pleasure, whoe hath geven to our chielde alreadie the sure and certaine rewarde of vertue, and hath not left hym to the daunger of losse of suche benefitts.

And yet see how merveilouslye God hath

wrought the matter. In hollie scripture, the lief of man is commonly lykened to two things: In one place it is called a contynuall warfare uppon earth; in another place it is called a ronninge for the best game. Nowe, what dangerouse enemyes dothe mans lief fighte withall? Even the devell, the worlde, and the fleshe. O Lord! how few overcome all theise three! How manye fight faintlye, how many fight not all; yea, how many will fullie forsake the banner of God, and with might follow the devell, the worlde, and the fleshe! It is fearfull, Margaret, to heare of this battaile, but more fearfull to enter into it, and therfore moste joyfull to be delyvered from it. Agayne, all must ronne that purpose to wynne the game: yet how slowe be we to ronne; manye scarce willing to goe; more readye to sitt downe and not sturr, and moste turninge a quyte contrarie waye bothe from God and his calling. But howe hath God dealt with our chield for this daungerous battell, and this slipperie waye? Even so as I cannot tell wheather his wisdome is more merveilous, or his goodnes more mercifull, and wheather you and I are more bounde to prayse hym for his wisdome, or all wayes to thanck hym for his goodnes! For he hath geven our chield the victorie withoute

fighting, and the garland withoute ronning; he hath geven unto hym the rewarde of vertue, before he could either doe or thinck uppon vertue; and therefore, Margaret, ought we two justlye to saye, "Thie goodness, O Lord, is parciall toward our chield and us; and therefore let us also willinglye confesse and thanckfully prayse God with David: Blessid be thou for ever and ever, O mercifull God! whoe hathe not dealt thus with all nations and people."

Fourthlye, and lastlye; seing grace hath purchased more by his death, then nature could have promysed by his lief; seing mercye hathe freelye soe rewarded hym in heaven, as no vertue of itself can deserve in earth; surely, Margaret, we might bewaile the want of fortune, the last point in order I had to talke uppon. For if we understand good fortune, as men do understand it; the best waye it is to growe greate in this worlde by honestie and good order, yet the state of it in this worlde is so unstable, as no man of wisdom hathe ever trusted to. * * * * *

[*The conclusion of this estimable letter is wanting in the MS.*]

An Original Letter of Ascham,[2] Tutor to Queen Elizabeth, to the Earl of Leicester,[3] 1566.

Most honourable and my best Lord,

If I should write at full to your Lordshipp what my hart woulde, or what my present necessitie requeareth, I might seeme either to flatter or to over-reache: to flatter, because I wryte unto you; to over-reache, because I wryte of myself. But I trust your goodnes will judge me voyde of bothe; suche as commytt either be commonlye those that be the great graters[4] for gayne and profitt. And howe troublesome I have hitherto bene unto your lordshipp, and that in moche faire offered good will on your lordshipps parte, both privatelie to my self, and

[2] Soliciting the advowson to a prebend in the church of York, which had been injuriously wrested from him by Archbishop Young.

[3] At that time Chancellor of the university of Oxford.

[4] *Qu.* regraters?

openlie to others, as any of my callinge hathe had in this courte, your lordship knoweth best. And, for my hart toward your lordshipp, I neede not moche to wryte, for herein theise witnesses will satisfie, or nothing will serve; God, the Queene, and your owne self. And, in as this your goodnes is open to all, bothe frend and foe, beinge alwayes as lothe to saye any man naye, as ever you were able to doe any man good, whoe, as I know full well my self, and as the reporte of all men goith, hath done more good even to your enemyes, then anye man ellse hath done to his frends: the cause whie in all this opportunitie I have not troubled your lordshipp, by waye of sute, was neither forgeatfulnes of my self, nor mistrust of your goodnes; but onlye the watching of suche a tyme, and suche a matter, as might be bothe easye for your lordshipp to obtaine, and fitt for me and myne to enjoye. Besydes that, of my self, not onlye by nature, but also by judgment, I am more desyrous to deserve good will then readie to trouble by sutes for gaine; which hath bene the onlie cause whie in so many faire yeares and dayes which I have passed and spent with her Majestie, I never opened my mowthe to this hower, to trouble her Majestie with sute. Therefore, if I have dealt thus with the

Queene, think it not straunge, nor unkyndelye done, moste noble and my best lord, that I have not troubled your lordshipp with sute; and this request I gladlye make, for I doe thinck, and also feare, that even your lordshipp dothe thinck, that your frend doth deale unkindlye, and offer you wronge, whoe doth bothe looke and labour for goodnes at your lordshipps hand. But see mye moste unhappie happe, or ells the strainge and overbolde injurie of others, by whome I am dryven, even of necessitie, first to complayne of an injurie, before I crave anye benefitt at your lordshipps hand; whoe have ventured to turne the fayrest waye of my moste hoped furderaunce into a readie pathe of my utter undoing. For wheare I surelye fixed my hope to have had more stay of your lordshipp's goodnes than of any man ells, some have been so bold as to abuse your lordshipp's authoritie to do me that injurie, that few or none wolde, either for inward conscience or common humanitie, have offered unto me. For if the matter, for the deede it self, for the maner of doing, for the persons that have done it, were expressed by me as I coulde, and understood bye others at the full, it woulde fall oute more to other mens shame then my injurie, althoughe my utter undoing did follow thereof.

But hitherto I have kept the matter from the Queene's Majestie, nor disclosed it to good Master Secreatarie, saying lesse to any other, then either mye inward greife might justlye have uttered, or the injurie offered, and unkyndness done, might well have deservid; for I purpose so to referre the matter onlye to your lordshipp, as all that heare the case shall witnesse, that either I obtayne my right by your lordshipp's onlye goodnes, or ells suffer wrong by your lordshipp's onlye authoritie. For I saye, and will saye, both nowe and hereafter, and heare and ellswheare, if the matter be not amended, that no boldness durst, nor no power could have offered me, or done me this wronge, except some men had thought that the shadowe of your lordshipp's authoritie should so have covered their doinges, and stopped my mouthe, as none should have seene, nor I durst have uttered, the injurye done unto me. But they are deceaved; for thoughe I am not so bolde and forward, as some other be, in cravinge of benefits, yet dare I well ynough complaine of an injurie, if wheare, and when, and by whome it should not, it be offered unto me. And the better theire boldnes might have bene borne with all, if it stayed in injuring me; but, as they have ventured boldlye to abuse your lord-

shipp's authoritie, so have they not spared, with overmoche boldnes, to deale not the best also with the Queene's Majestie, in disappointing her good will, and illuding her purpose, in that matter, wherein she was speciallie bent openlie to shewe a prerogative of her goodnes towards me. For did her Majestie give me that prebend by her onlye goodnes, and good Master Secreataryes frindlye motion, without my sute, without my knowledge, that another man should reape the best frute of that her good will? Or, when Mr. Bourne would needes entytle the Queene to the fee simple of that prebend, did her Majestie give oute her commission, wryte her lettres, send special tokens, talke earnestlye with her officers, give straite commaundement to the whole courte of the Excheaquer, that without delay I should have right even in a matter against her self? Was this prerogative, I say, of her goodnes so specially declared, so openlye testefied, that my Lord of Yorke[5] might prevelye disapoint all her Majesties meaninge herein? I trust all good and wise men will bothe thinck and say *nay*. And besydes this injuryng of me, besydes the abusinge of your lordshipps authoritie, and besydes the illuding

[5] Dr. Thomas Young. See vol. ii, p. 229.

of her Majesties good purpose and will; surely the unkynde dealing doth greeve me moste of all. For this seaven yeares I have spent my life in cares at home; my lyving, in sute and charges abroad; I have solde away my plate, and that which grieveth me moche, my wife's poore jewells. I have, by this sute, with present debt, broughte myselfe in daunger of forfaitinge my whole lyving to comme, for me, my wife, and my children; for, bye chardge of this sute, I owe the Queene 200l. and more; in witnesse of whiche debt, Sir Richard Sackvill[6] hath my lease, geven me by Queene Marye, which is the whole and onlye lyvinge that I have to leave to my wife and children, if I dye. And if I shoulde now dye, as I ame not verie lyke to lyve longe, my wife and children may overtrewlie saye, when I am gone: "We maye all goe a begging for any thing that Master Ascham could ever geat to leave unto us, by all his servis done to Queene Elizabeth, or by all his great frends that he had in her courte."

[6] Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. He was characterised by Ascham, as an earnest favourer and furtherer of God's true religion, a faithful servitor to his prince and country, a lover of learning and all learned men. Preface to the Schoolmaster, 1570.

This thought, my lord, pincheth me overneare the hart; herebye cometh my gray heares, my hollow eyes, my heavie lookes, my long absence from the courte, my thoughtful byding at home, my daylye present greife for them which should be my greatest joye and comfort: and the better wife, the fayrer children, that God hathe bleste me withal, the greater is my greife, that all my service in the courte should purchase them nothing but beggerye, when I am gone; for, if I dye, all my things dye with me. And yet that poore service that I have done to Queene Elizabeth shall lyve still and never dye, as long as her noble hand and excellent learning in the Greeke and Latine tongues shall be knowen to the worlde. And, also, my happ is over hard, that I, being thought fitt to be secreatarie to a Prince,[7] to have the doing betwixte the Prince and Princes abroad, cannot be thought worthie of one grote by yeare at home, neither by land, fee, nor ferme,[8] nor otherwise, which wife and children may enjoye, when I am gone. Ay, my good lord, God kepe all good men from theise cares; for he that never had good wife nor faire children, can

[7] To Queen Elizabeth, for the Latin tongue.

[8] Farm.

never come to theise cares and thoughts. And therefore trulye verye unhappie, and onlye unhappie may I be both compted now, and crownicled hereafter, if, of all those that have so long served so mightie and so noble a Prince, I onlye in the end must leave nothing but miserie to my dearest frends.

I feare, moste noble lord, lest theise my inward cares cause me to utter forth, over farr, theise my housholde greifes. I was not so moche purposed to lament myne owne myserie, as to complayne upon other's injurye, unkindnesse, and uncurtesye done unto me in this present matter; for all theise my inward cares at home, be doubled and trypled by the outward troubles abroad, partlye by the injuries of myne enemyes, but more by the unkindnes of my frends. Master Bourne[9] did never greeve me half so moche in offering me wrong, as Mr. Dudley and the bishopp of Yorke doe, in taking away my right. No byshopp, in Queen Marie's time, would have so dealt with me; not Mr. Bourne hym self, when Winchester lyved, durst have so dealt with me. For suche good esti-

[9] Probably Sir John Bourne, who was principal Secretary of state to Queen Mary.

mation, in those dayes, even the learned'st and wysest men, as Gardener[2] and Cardinal Poole,[3] made of my poore service, that, although they knew perfectlye, that in religion, both by open wryting and pryvie talke, I was contrarye unto them; yea, when Sir Frauncis Englefield[4] by name did note me speciallye at the councell-board, Gardener would not suffer me to be called thither, nor touched ellswheare, saienge suche wordes of me in a lettre, as, though lettres cannot, I blushe to write them to your lordshipp. Winchester's good will stoode not in speaking faire and wishing well, but he did in deede that for me, whereby my wife and children shall live the better when I am gone. My moste noble lord, shall my wife and children, when I am gone, trulye saye,—"Yet we have this to lyve on, gotten by my lorde of Win-

[2] By Gardiner's favour, Ascham long held his fellowship, though not resident.

[3] The pope's legate: a man of great candour, learning, and gentleness of manners, and eminent for his skill in Latin. He thought so highly of Ascham's style, as to employ him in translating a speech made by himself to the pope.—See Life of Ascham, ascribed to Dr. Johnson.

[4] Master of the Wards.

chester in Queene Marie's tyme; but we have not one pennye to live on, gotten by the lord of Lecister in Queene Elizabethe's time? Yea, the lyving that was speciallye purposed by her noble goodnes to do us good, by my Lord of Leicester, (thoughe not openlie by his meane, yet privilie by his men, and though not by his will and doing, yet by his authoritie and suffering) is taken from us." Ay, my good lord, perchaunce you think theise words be over sharppe, and needlesse, and I thinck so too, for I hope, surelye, that your lordshipp's goodnes will prove them so to be in the end. But sure I am, that, at this present, I write not so sharplye, as they have done shrewdlye, which of necessitie compell me thus to wryte: for all theise costs and charges have I sustayned, onlye to mayntayne the church of Yorke's right, thincking that, in the end of my labour and chardge, my lord archbishopp (whoe never yet spent one penny in defence of his patronage) woulde, first of curtsye, bestowe the advocation therof uppon my sonne Dudley; then of conscience, graunt unto me a good long lease, to redeeme theise chardges which this sute coste me. But now, when I have by long sute, great cost and care, brought by order of law, by verdict, and judgment, this prebend to the church of York

agayne, which four archbishopps in fortie yeares could never bring so to passe: beholde when I looked for thancks, and hoped for recompence of my great chardges, by some long lease, at the least; my lord archbishopp, before the matter was ended, (for it yet remayneth in costlye tryall unto me,) most unkindlye, to my present undoing, and perpetuall greife, hath geven away the advocation; and geven it so, (under his, the deane and chapters seale,) as now another man shall enjoye the sweet kirnell of this hard and chardgeable nutt, which I have bene so long in cracking; and nothing left unto me but shells and shalls to feed me with all. Ay, my lord, other kinde of writting then theise heavie lettres had been more fitt for this present tyme. And surelye this had I never written, if the bishopp in this matter had made anye accompt of learning, conscience, humanitie, or curtesie, or ells of his owne promesse unto me, whereof I will chardge hym, and that in the best presence, wherever I meete hym in England.

But to let the byshopp goe, at whose hands I look for no good; I referr the whole matter onlye to your lordshipp, whoe may justlye and easilye, to no man's injurie, to my great com-

forte and commoditie, to your great praise among all that shall heare of it: your lordshipp may, I say, amend all the matter; which if you doe, then doe you lyke your owne doing in all other things ells, and that is justlye, gentleye, and curteslye; which as I surelye looke for, so some of the wisest and best men of this realme and those that thinck moste honourable of your lordshipp's nature, do assure me ye will do soe.

The waye is this: Let the bishopp (who, as your lordship knoweth, is bothe willing for your sake, and able of him self,) doe John Dudley some other better good turne then this is, and, if it be twise as good, I shall not envie it, so it be not joined withe injuring me. Then may your lordship take the advocation, and, insteede of Dudley your servaunt, bestowe it uppon Dudley your sonne. And so shall John Dudley have a benefitt, and I receave no injurie, your lordship deserve all thanks, and the bishopp none at all. And thus (verie happelye in deede) shall fall out a meane whereby your lordship may be a good godfather in deede unto your sonne, and I and my wife moste bounde unto you, as our assured hope has alwaye bene, and still is, that we and ours shall have one good cause of comfort at your lordship's

hand. And then shall I bothe live in more joye, and die with less care, when I shall leave my dearest of children[5] so carefullie provided for by his most noble godfather. But, if your lordship do not thus, I must thinck, and other will judge, that you do me playne wrong, which you doe in deede, thoughe not directly by your self, yet manifestly by others, if you suffer any other, under the shadowe of your authoritie, to do it unto me. And then must I thinck my happe over hard, that your lordship, whose custome is to do good even to your enemyes, should thus undoe me, your poore frend; and whose nature is to do good to all and hurt none, shuld begynne the first injurie that ever you did, to offre it to hym, whoe is more desyrous of the increase of your lordship's honour, then ever he was of his owne profitt.

And therefore, moste noble and my best lorde, I praye in God's behalf, let me understand playnlye, whither you purpose to doe or undoe me in this matter. Yea, a speedie *naye* shall be more wellcome than my right, wonne

[5] Probably Giles Ascham, who, by the favour of Lord Burleigh, and royal mandate of Queen Elizabeth, was made a Fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he obtained considerable repute for his Latin style in epistolary composition.

by overlong and careful craving. If ye say nothing, then ye tell me playnlye, ye wyll do nothing for me; if ye drive me off with faire words, then ye drive me, thoughe not openlye to complayne, yet to lament, ells wheare, the injurye done unto me. But surelye you cannot doe so for good natures sake; nor will not do so for honour's sake; nor ought to do so, bothe for conscience, for equitie of the cause, and alsoe of curtesie, for that trewe hart and good will which you knowe I have ever borne to you and your name. And thus I end, reposing the doing or undoing of me, my wife, your sonne Dudley, and reste of my poore[6] children in your lordshipps onlye hand; and God send you as I wishe you. At London, the 14° Aprilis 1566.

[6] Camden imputes the poverty of Ascham to his love of dicing and cock-fighting; and we are left to suspect, says his modern biographer, that he shewed his contempt of money only by losing it at play. It should be remembered, however, in extenuation of such a lamentable failing, that Ascham never had a robust constitution, and that his excuse for many hours of diversion was an inability to endure a long continuance of sedentary thought. It were indecent, therefore, as has been candidly remarked, to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man who shared his frailties with all, but whose learning or virtues few can attain, and by whose excellencies many may be improved.

Orders for Household Servantes; first devised by John Haryngton, in the Yeare 1566, and renewed by John Haryngton, Sonne of the saide John, in the Yeare 1592: the saide John, the Sonne, being then High Shrieve of the County of Somerset.

Imprimis, That no servant bee absent from praier, at morning or evening, without a lawfull excuse, to be alledged within one day after, upon paine to forfeit for every tyme 2*d.*

II. Item, That none swear any othe, uppon paine for every othe 1*d.*

III. Item, That no man leave any doore open that he findeth shut, without theare bee cause, upon paine for every tyme 1*d.*

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after 6 of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed

after 10 of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after 7 in the morning; nor out after 9 at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2*d.*

V. That no man's bed bee unmade, nor fire or candle-box uncleane, after 8 of the clock in the morning, on paine of 1*d.*

VI. Item, That no man make water within either of the courts, upon paine of, every tyme it shalbe proved, 1*d.*

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any unhonest speeche, or baudie word, or othe, on paine of 4*d.*

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table, without a trencher in his hand, except it be uppon some good cause, on paine of 1*d.*

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table, be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1*d.*

X. Item, If any man breake a glasse, hee shall aunswer the price thereof out of his wages;

and, if it bee not known who breake it, the buttler shall pay for it, on paine of 12*d.*

XI. Item, The table must bee covered halfe an houer before 11 at dinner, and 6 at supper, or before, on paine of 2*d.*

XII. Item, That meate bee readie at 11 or before at dinner, and 6 or before at supper, on paine of 6*d.*

XIII. Item, That none be absent, without leave or good cause, the whole day, or any part of it, on paine of 4*d.*

XIV. Item, That no man strike his fellow, on paine of losse of service; nor revile or threaten, or provoke another to strike, on paine of 12*d.*

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1*d.* and the cook likewyse to forfeit 1*d.*

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4*d.*

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule shirt

on Sunday, nor broken hose or shooes, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1*d.*

XVIII. Item, That when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be drest up againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1*d.*

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane every day, by eight in the winter, and seaven in the sommer, on paine of him that should do it to forfet 1*d.*

XX. That the cowrt-gate bee shutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and supper, without just cause, on paine the porter to forfet for every time 1*d.*

XXI. Item, That all stayrs in the house, and other rooms that neede shall require, bee made cleane on Fryday after dinner, on paine of forfeyture of every on whome it shall belong unto, 3*d.*

All which sommes shalbe duly paide each quarter-day out of their wages, and bestowed on the poore, or other godly use.

A Letter of the Queene's Majesties Translation out of Seneca. [Epist. cvii.]

N. B. *This letter was given by Queene Elizabeth, to her servante, John Harington, in token of remembrance of her Highness painstaking and learned skyll,* 1567, *and which he did highly prize and esteem in such sort.*

WHERE is thie witt become, where lies this subtill scanninge that breedes this contempte of all? What harborowe hath the stoutnesse of thie mynde? Can so small a thing vexe the? Thie servaunte sawe thie busines greate, and thought that meetest cawse to leave the so; what, and thye frends beguile the? Geve them that name that the epicure gave them: Such be their cristening. What great matter is it if they leave thee at thie neede, that made thee marre thie worke, and cawsed thee troblesome to all? There is none of all theise things neither unwonted or unlooked for. To be offendid at theise matters is as great a scorne, as to whyne that thow art

dashed with myre, or trobled with the thronge. Our lief is as thrall to myshapps as paynes be common, multitudes not rare, and journeys of sondrie sortes. Some things are diferred, and other redilye happens. It is no delighting thinge to lyve, for so thow entrest into a long journey, where somtymes thow must needes slyppe and then upp agayne, and so somtymes thow fallest, often tymes art weried, and dryven to crye oute. Of deathe thow measurest this waye; in some place thow shalt leave thie companyon; in an other tyme thow shalt have his companye; in an other thow shalt feare hym. By suche myshapps fallen in offence, this broken craggie waye must thow passe. Who so must dye, let his mynde be prepared against all events. When he hathe suffrede the clappe, let hym be sure the lighteninge is past. Let hym not be ignorant that he is come in to that place, "where greevous woes and revenging cares have made their harborowe; where pale disease and sad age have built their tenement."[7] In this rotten bower our life we must

[7] Or, according to Dr. Lodge's translation, published in 1620,

"Where sorrowes and revengefull cares doe sleep,
Where sicknesse pale, and wearie age doe keepe,"

lead. To shonne theise things, we cannott; to despyse them, lieth in our power. And thus we may contempne them, if ofte we thincke there on, and overtake them ere they happe. There is no man but stoutlier resisteth that to whiche a long contynewed purpose hath hasted his redynesse, and maketh him with force resyst the hardest happs by fore thoughts of suche chaunces.

But, farr awaye from this, the unskilfull man is made full sore afraied of every tryfeling cawse. Let this be our greattest care, that never nothing happen to us that our imagination hath not foretolde us. And, (for that all things be made more greevous bye noveltie,) lett this daylye thought stand the in steede, that thow never be a new soldiour to anye mishapp. Have thie servants forsaken thee? thou art in good case: other they have robbed, some they have accused, other they have killed, betraied, overtrodden, yea, ended with venome,[8] and shortenyd their days by false accusation: there is nothing thou canst reckon that hath not bene the luck of more than one. Since then, manie and sondrie mishapps be le-

[8] Poison.

velled to our share, of whiche some stycke faste in us, other some glaunce very near unto us, and, when they moste touche us, wee go not free without some rase of another's mishapp: let us make no wonder of suche things, to which we are borne; let no one complayne of that, that a lyke doth happ to all; thus I mean alyke, for though one shonne it, he might have suffered it. The law is a lyke, not by the use, but by the commaundement. Let equitye reigne over thie mynde, and without bill of complaynt, pay the trybute that to death thow owest. The winter bringeth his coldes; shever then. The summer sheweth her heat; give place to his gloomes. The evell-seasoned aier breedeth diseases; brook well sicknes. An untamed beast crosseth thie waie; yet, wurst then that, one harmfuller of thine sexe. Some thinge water destroyeth, an other the fyer takes awaye; the wandring state of things no man maye chaunge. This onlye lyeth in our power; to frame a stowte mynde and worthie a good bodie, by which we maye strongly withstand mishapps, and easylye consent to nature's myserye. Yea, Nature her self (which daylye our eyes witnesseth) tempereth the force of her raigne with the nomber of her chaunges. The cleare daies followes the darck clowdes; the

rowghest seas insues the greatest calmes; the wynds that harme and helpp, be blasted bothe at once. The day followes the trace the night hathe gone before; part of the heavens bye rowling cometh alofte, when other part is drenched in hidden place far from our sight: the contynewaunce of all standeth by contrarieties. To this lawe our mynde must be prepared; let it follow and obey this, and, whatsoever betydes, let hym thinck it behoved to be done; and let hym fynde no faulte with nature's blame. It is best to suffer *that* thow canst not mend. And, since God is the authour of all things that be, without whome nothing can happ, let us follow him with no grudging mynde. An evell souldiour is he whoe with sighes followes his captaine: wherefore lett us take our chardge not lyke the grudging sluggard, but as the joyfull man; nor lett us leave this course of faire workmanshipp, in which all our sufferaunce is well engraven. And thus let us talke with our Maker, the Father and Ruler of the loftie skye: "Lead me where so it please the best, no abode shall staye, but I will obeye; with no slowe pace will I trase thie pathe. Imagen that so I cannot doe, yet must I follow thee with teares,

and, as a wicked wretche, must byde that, which, as a good man, I might have borne."

Destenies guyde the willing, but draw the grudging sorte. [9]So let us live, so doe we speake, that theye maye ever fynde us readie and not unprepared. The greattest hart is it that bequeaves to God his parte, and he, of base and basterdlye mynde that wrestells a pluck with the world's order, conceyves therof an evill opynion, and seekes rather to amend God than hym self.

Fare well.

[9] Dr. Lodge's translation may serve to render this paragraph somewhat more intelligible.

"Let us live thus, let us speake thus, let the destinies finde us alwayes addressed and willing. This courage, that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greatest in all kindes: contrariwise, that man is both faint and recreant that starteth backe, that complaineth of the government of the world, and had rather censure God than himselfe."

The following Letters were found in a MS. intituled, " A precious Token of her Highness's great Wit and marvelous Understandinge."[2]

The Letter the Queene's Majesty wrote, *whylest she gave instructions for the other that followith, and hearing a tale which she made answer unto.*

Even suche good helpe, my friende, as never can appeare, is wisht may fall unto your share, bye one even whollye yours, if he can be such one, that scant is found to be his owne. Your curiouse care to know what greive encombred mye breast, together with the remedie that may

[2] Their authenticity is little to be doubted, as the MS. contained many papers written in her time, by a person about the court. It doth not seem improbable that Elizabeth's ambition might prompt her to emulate other princes in the gift of writing, dictating, and conversing at the same time, as these letters intimate she did, on different subjects. At what time this happened is not mentioned, nor does the subject determine the period. Hen. Harington.

cure the sore, is harder for mee to utter than wryte.

If my guest were not worse than the lodging, the rest were not worse than the travail; and least my paraphrase agree not with the text, I will make myne owne exposytion. The constitution of my minde's vessel is not so evil framed, as whereupon grevous diseases or perilous maladise have taken holde. I fynde not the mixture so evil made, as that any one of the foure elements of all overruleth so his fellow, as that the rest may envye his happ. Since but one other parte the divine Powre hath geaven us for the best; it followeth then that there must be the playnte, or gone is all the mone.

If your request (that seldom I denye) had not enforced a custome newly made, it would have pleased me well, that you should not forget how hardlye grene wounds suffered their toucher's hand: but, since a *naye* your firme friende can scarse be brought to make you, the upper scale you shall touche, to sownde the depthe, shall serve the feelers parte.

When I a gathering make of common pathes and trades, and think upon the sundrie sortes

of travailars in them, I fynde a muse; no greater when multitudes be gathered, and faces many a one, amongst the whyche, not two of all be fownd alyke. Then wonder breedes in me how all thys worldlye masse so longe is made to holde, where never a moulde is framed alyke, no never a mynde agrees wyth any other. And were it not that heavenlye dower overcomethe philosophie, it coud not content me well to remember that an evel is betterd, the less it be endured.

The Letter dictated *by the Queen.*

A QUESTION was once asked me thus;— "Must ought be denied a friende's request? answer me yea or naye." It was answered, "Nothinge." And first it is best to scann what a friende is; which I thinke nothynge less than friendshippe is, which I deem nothynge but one uniforme consent of two mindes, suche as virtue links, and nought but death can part. Therefore I conclude, that the howse which shrinketh from its foundation shall down for me. For friende leaves he to be, that doth demande more than the giver's grant, which reason's leave maye yeilde. And, if then mye friende

no more, God send my foe may mende. And, if needylie thou must wyll, yet at the least no power be thyne to atchieve thyne desyre; for where myndes differ, and opinions swarve, there is scant a friende in that companie. But if my happ be fallen in so happie a soyl, as one suche be founde who wylls that beseems, and I be pleased with that he so allows; I bid myself farewell, and then I am but his.

The following paragraph, from a confidential letter, may serve to confirm the received idea of Queen Elizabeth's inordinate love of money and costly apparel.[3] A law-suit was pending, at the time it was written, to recover some lands which had been forfeited by Sir James Harington, for espousing the cause of Richard the Third.

"I will adventure to give her Majestie five hundred pounds, in money, and some pretty

[3] In Chamberlain's epistolary notices, extracted from Dr. Birch's MSS. in Mus. Brit. the rich wardrobe of Q. Eliza-

jewell or garment, as you shall advyse; onlie praying her Majestie to further my suite with some of her lernede counsel, which I pray you to find some proper tyme to move in. This some hold as a dangerous adventure, but five and twentie manors do well warrant my trying it."

However hazardous this experiment might be deemed, the "pretty jewell" was certainly offered and accepted; as appears from a memorandum in Bibl. Sloan. 814, recording the new-years gifts presented to Q. Eliz. in 1572.

"*Item.* A hart of golde, garnished with sparcks of rubyes, iij smale perles, and a litle rounde perle pendaunte, owte of which harte goeth a braunche of roses redd and white, whearin are twoe smale dyamondes, thre smale rubyes, two litle emerauldes, and ij smale pearles: thre q^{rs} di. and farthing golde weight. Geven by Mr. *John Harington, esquier.*[4]

beth, at the time of her demise, is stated to have contained more than 2,000 gowns, with all things answerable.

[4] Other presentations were made to the Queen by Mr. Harington, in 1574, 1576, and 1579, as appears from papers in the possession of Mr. Astle. Her Majesty, in return, gave

The Queene's Most Excellent Majesties Oration[5] in the Parliament Howse, Martii 15, 1575.

" Doe I see Godd's most sacred text of holie writt drawen to divers sences, be it never so perfectlie taught: and shall I hope that my speache can passe fourthe throughe soe manye

Mr. H. a piece of gilt plate, weighing 40 ounces. See Progresses, vol. ii.

It might not therefore be without cause, that Tho. Blundeville, Gent. apologised to the " Queenes Highnes," for presenting her with a poetic offering instead of gold and pearls. His apology, however, ought to have sufficed.

" Such *new years gifts* as most men doe prepare
To give your Grace, it passeth far my powre:
For *golde*, ne *pearle*, ne such like costlie ware,
Can I possesse, sith Fortune still doth lowre."

Ded. to " The Fruites of Foes," 1580.

[5] This oration does not appear in Sir Simond D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, though, on the 14th of March, 1575, a long speech is recorded as then delivered by Lord Keeper Bacon, at the Queen's commandment. Perhaps the present, like some modern parliamentary harangues, might have been only an *intended* speech.

cares, without mistake; wheare soe many ripe and divers witts doe oftner bende theme selves to conster, then attaine, the perfect understandinge? If any looke for eloquence, I shall deceive their hope; if some thinke I can match their guifte that spake before, they holde an open heresie. I cannot satisfie their longing thirste that watche for those delights, unlesse I sholde affourde theme what my selffe had never yet in my possession. If I sholde saie the sweetest speache with the eloquentest tonge that ever was in man, I were not able to expreasse that restles care which I have ever bent to governe for the greatest welthe; I sholde wronge myne intent, and greatlie baite the merite of my owne indevour. I cannot attribute those happes and good successe to my devyse, without detractinge mouche from the Devine Providence; nor challendge to my private comendation, what is onlie dewe to Godds eternall glorie. My sex permitts it not; or, if it might be in this kinde, yet finde I noe impeachment whie, to persons of more base estate, the like proportion sholde not be allotted. One speciall favour, notwithstandinge, I must nedes confes I have just cause to vaunt of:—that, whearas vanitie and love of change is ever so ryfe in servaunts towardes their masters, children to-

wardes their parents, and in private freendes one towardes an other, as thoughe, for one yeare or two, they can content to holde their course upright, yet after, by mistruste or dowbt of worst, they are dissevered, and in time waxe werie of their wonted likinge: yet, till I finde that assured zeale amongst my faithfull subjects to my special comforte, which was first declaired to my great incouragement, I am a Prince that of necessitie must discontent a nombre, to delight and please a few; because the greatest parte is not best inclined to continewe soe longe time withowt great offence, mouch mislike, or common grudge. Or happes it ofte that Princes actes are conceived in soe goode parte, and favourablie interpreted? No, no, my Lords; howe great my fortune is in this respect, I were ingrate if I sholde not acknowledge. And, as for those rare and speciall benefitts which manye yeares have followed and accompanyed me with happie raigne, I attribute to God alone, the Prince of rule; and account my selfe no better than his handmaid, rather brought up in a scoole to abide the ferula, then traded in a kingdome to support the septer. If pollicie had bene preferred before truthe, it wold, I trowe you, even at the first beginninge of my rule, have turned upside down so great affaires, or

entred into tossinge of the great waves and billowes of the worlde, which mighte, if I had soughte myne ease, have harbored and cast ancker in a more seeming securitie. It cannot be denyed, but worldlie wisdome rather bad me marry and knitt my selfe in league and alliaunce with great princes, to purchase freendes on every side by worldlie meanes, and there repose the trust of myne assured strengthe, where force colde never wante to give assistaunce. Was I to seeke in that, which to mans judgment owtwardlie must needs be thought the safest course? Noe; I can never graunt my selfe to be soe simple, as not to see what all mens eyes discovered. But all those means of leagues, alliaunces, and forrein strengthes, I quite forsook, and gave myselfe to seeke for truthe withowt respecte, reposinge my assured staie in God's most mightie grace, with full assuraunce. Thus I began, thus I did proceed, and thus I hope to ende. These seventeene yeares God hathe bothe prospered and protected with good succesce under my direction. And I nothinge doubt but the same maintaininge hande will guyde youe still, and bringe youe to the ripenes of perfection.

Consider with yourselves the bitter storms

and trobles of your neighbors; the true cause whearof I will not attribute to princes, (God forbid I sholde) since those misfortunes maie proceede as well from sinnes amongst the people; for want of plagues declair not alwaies want of guilte, but rather prove Gods mercie. I knowe, besides, that private persones maie finde soner faulte, then mende a prince's state; and, for my parte, I graunte myselffe too guiltie to increase the burdein, by mislike of any. Let all men therefore beare their private faults; myne owne have weight enough for me to aunswere for. The best waie, I suppose, weare bothe for you and me, by humble prayers, to requyre of God, that not in weeninge, but in perfect weighte; in beinge, not in seminge; wee maie wishe the beste, and further it with owr abilitie. Not the finest witt, the strongest judgment that can rave most deeplie, and take up men's captious eares with pleasaunt tales, hath greater care to guyde youe to the safest state, and be gladder to establishe youe where men oughte to thinke theme selves moste sure and happie, then shee that speaks these wordes.

Nowe, touchinge daungers cheiflie feared, first to rehearce my meaninge, (latelie unfolded to

youe by my L. Keeper) it shall not be nedefull; though I must needs confes myne owne mislike, soe mutch to strive against the matter, as if I wear a milke maide with a paile on my arme,[7] whearby my private person might be litle sett by, I wolde not forsake that poore and single state, to matche with the greatest monarche; not that I doe condemne the double knott, or judge amisse of suche as, forced by necessitie, cannot dispose theme selves to an other life; but wishe that none wear drawen to chaunge, but suche as cannot keepe honest limitts. Yet, for yowr behalfe, there is no waie so difficulte, that maie towche my privat person, which I will not well content my selffe to take; and, in this case, as willinglie to spoile myselffe quite of my selffe, as if I sholde put of my upper garment when it weryes me, if the present state might not therbie be encombred. I knowe I ame but mortall; which good lesson Mr. Speaker, in his thirde[8] division

[7] In that most delightful composition, Walton's Angler, Venator is made to say, "Our good Queen Elizabeth did often wish herself a milkmaid;" and Shenstone has sweetly transmitted this report in verse. See his ballad on the Princess Elizabeth, when a prisoner at Woodstock.

[8] Sir Nicholas Bacon, in his reply to the Speaker, (Robert

of a vertuous princes properties, had reason to remembre; and so, their-while, I prepair my selffe to welcome deathe, when soever it shall please God to send it; as, if others wolde indeavour to performe the like, it wolde not be soe bitter unto manye, as it hath bene accompted. Myne owne experience teacheth me to be no fonder of those vaine delights then reason wolde; nor further to delight in thinges uncertaine, then maie seeme convenient. But let good heed be taken, that in reaching too farr after future good, youe perill not the present; and beginn to quarrel, and fall by dispute together by the eares, before it be decyded whoe shall weare my crowne. I will not denye but I might be thought the indifferentest judge in this respect: that I shall not be when theise points are fulfilled, which none beside my selffe can speak in all this companye. Mysdeeme not my wordes, as thoughe I sought what heretofore hathe bene graunted. I entend it not; my wordes be too thynn to carry so tuffe[9] a matter. Although, I trust, God will not in suche haste cutt off my daies, but that, accor-

Bell, Esq.) reduced the consideration of his speech into five parts. See D' Ewes's Ed. 1682, p. 232.

[9] Tough.

dinge to yowr owne desart and my desier, I maie provide some goode waie for yowr full securitie. And thus, as one that yeeldeth yow more thanks (bothe for youre zeale unto my selffe, and sarvice in this parlament,) then my tonge can uttre, I recommend youe unto the assured guarde and best keepinge of the Almightie; who will preserve youe safe, I truste, in all felicitie; and wissh with all, that each of youe, had tasted some dropes of Lethe's floode, to cancell and deface those speaches owt of yowr remembraunce."

In a Copy of the above Speech is found the following Note, [*by Sir John Harington.*]

Memorandum, These good wordes were given unto mee by my most honorede Ladye and Princesse, and did bringe withe theme these good advyses:—"Boye Jacke, I have made a clerke wryte faire my poore wordes for thyne use, as it cannot be suche striplinges have entrance into parliamente assemblye as yet. Ponder theme in thy howres of leysure, and plaie wythe theme tyll they enter thyne understandinge; so shallt thou hereafter, perchance, fynde some goode frutes hereof when thy Godmother

is oute of remembraunce; and I do thys, because thy father was readye to sarve and love us in trouble and thrall."[2]

A Lord of Scotland[3] to Queen Elizabeth.

Pleaseth your Majestie,

UPON the vij daye of this instant July, theire was a meetinge kept at one accustomed place, called the Rydyswyre, on the frontyers, betwixt the warden on the midle marches of England and a gentleman servant, deputie keeper

[2] Sir John Harington's father was confined in the Tower for befriending the Princess Elizabeth, 1554. See Life prefixed.

[3] Probably the Regent, James, Earl of Morton; beheaded in 1581, for having been implicated in the murder of Lord Darnley. The misadventure which occasioned this letter is thus noticed by Professor Robertson: "In 1575, at one of the usual interviews between the wardens of the Scottish and English marches, a scuffle happened, in which the English were worsted; a few killed on the spot; and Sir James Forrester, the warden, with several gentlemen who attended him, taken prisoners." Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii.

A farther illustration of this affray may be seen in the most interesting and intelligent of modern publications, "The Minstrelsy of the Scotish Border."

of Lyddesdaile, under my nephewe, the Earle of Anguse; where, after meetinge and good justice and redresse in the beginninge, at last, some question falling betwixt the officers, although without any actuall offre of injuries by waie of deed on our mens parties, the disordered people of Tinsdale, Ryddaile, and others your Highnes' subjects, violating the proclamation of truce, by shott of pistoletts and arrowes, presentlie slewe ij Scottishmen, even in the sight and verie neare the officiaries; persewing the remnant of our people so owtrageously, that they, being farr driven from their standing, at length in their defence, after the slaughter and hurting of sondry gentlemen and others of this nation, your Majesties subjects have happened in the end to receive such losse and detriment as I am hartelie sorrie of; whearof I have more amplie infourmed the LL. of your Highnes most honorable privie counsaile, as unwillinge to weary your Highnes with so lardge a narration.

God is my witnes, and my by-past actions have witnessed, with what earnestnes and sinceritie I have studied to enterteine the happie peace and good amitie begonne with your Majesties raigne, and contynewed to this

daie, betwixt these two kingdomes; and howe carefull I have bene to avoyd all occasions tending to the prejudice theirof. Nowe, in this case, as I have received information, so simplie have I thought good to notifie the same unto yoor Highnes; humblie and earnestlie beseeching your Majestie to direct chardges to your Highnes wardens and officers on the frontyers, straightlie commaunding them the observance of the peace and good amitie, and inhibiting all inordinate attempts tending to the violating theirof. As for the partie of the Kinge my soveraigne, (your Highnes dear cosin,) and this his realme, no dewtie, travailes, or good will, that may quiet the misliking growin in this late unhappie accident, and renewe the former good intelligence and amitie, shalbe omitted.

Expecting your Highnes gracious and favorable aunswere towching the order which your Highnes would have, in this behalf followed owt, I humblie take my leave, beseching Almightie God to prosper your Highnes in a longe and happie raigne. Dat. 8 Julij, 1575.

The Lord Treasurer Burleighe to Mr. John Harington,[4] at Cambridge. 1578.

I THANCKE you, my good Jacke, for your lettres, which I like not for the praise thei give me, but for the promise thei make me; that is, that you will continewe your endevor to gett understandinge, without the which a man is lytle accompted of, and, in deed, can not tell truelie, how to accompte of him self. But, as the waie to knowledge is not shorte, so the travailers therein must neither be idle nor wearie; nor thinke a lytle ynough of that wherof non can have too much. For that weare like a man goinge home, that tooke the nexte inne for his owne house, or the halfe waie for his jorneis ende. Besides this, he that undertaketh the jornie you have in hande, (if he will not goe out of the waie,) must use good guides, as I doubte not but you will. For the Latin tongue, Tullye chieffelie, if not onlie; for the Roman story, (which is exceedinge fitt for a gentleman to understande,) Lyvie and Cæsar; for logycke

[4] Then a youth of seventeen, at Christ's college.

and philosophie, Aristotle and Plato. And so, in all tonges and sciences, the most notable and approved, (as your tutor[5] can best tell you,) not dealinge with over greate varietie of books, which yonge men delite in; and yet, in myne opynion, they breede but a scattringe of the mynde. For, as Seneca sayeth, *Cauta lectio prodest, varia delectat.* Nowe, to geve you better speede in this waie, thoe your maister's informacion and your good father's advise will muche availe you, yet to heare mye fansye can nothinge hinder you. Therefore, thus I thincke: —The most ordinarie meanes to further men to knowledge be readinge and hearinge; and reasoninge and wrytinge be most requisite; but all, done in tyme and order, be most profitable. Hereof the rules be as dyvers, as theire witts be that be teachers, or the orders be in diverse universities and houses of lerninge. Therefore I will appointe you no other patterne [than] the place you lyve in dothe shewe you, from whence so manye notable lerned men and noble servants of the common-wealth have proceeded to fame and greate fortune. Onlie I woulde particularlie warne you, that (to seeme a good fellow) you sytte not in your studie reading, when you

[5] Dr. Fleming. See vol. ii. p. 157.

shoulde be in the hall hearinge; nor be wrytinge a declamacion for your prayers,[6] when you maye be at a disputation for your more profytt: For at a good lecture youe maie lerne, in an hour, that [which] a good teacher, perhapps, hath bene studyinge for a daie, and yourself, by readinge, shall not fynd oute in a moneth. Againe, you shall reache more discerninge of trothe[7] in an howres reasoninge with others, then a weeks wrytinge by yourself; thoe I knowe nothinge I woulde have you more use then wrytinge. And nowe, that I have made mension hereof, I will therein likewise tell you my mynde:—In wrytinge, to seeke varietie of invention, to make choise of words and phrases, to use apte examples, and good imitacyon, I knowe to be verie good thinges; but if you follow the trade of Sir John Cheeke, (who was one of the sweetest flowers that hath coomen[8] in my tyme out of the garden you growe in,) you can not doe better. One manner of his, amongst dyvers excellent, was this;—to appoint those that weare under hym, and that he desired shoulde moste profytt, to take a peece

[6] *Qu.* prayse?

[7] Truth.

[8] Come.

of Tullie, and to translate it into Englishe, and after, (layinge theire bookes asyde,) to translate the same againe into Latine, and then to compare them with the booke, and to consider whiche weare don aptelie, or unproperlie; and howe neare Tullie's phrase was folowed in the Latine, and the moste sweete and sensyble wrytinge in Englishe; contynewinge with this kinde of exercise once or twice in a weeke, for two or three yeres, you shall come to write (as he dyd) singularlie in both tongues, which is most necessarie and most comendable.

Last of all, whether you speeke, or write, or whatsoever you doe, I wolde advise you to remember Cicero his lesson, which is good in lerninge, but better in lyvinge: *Omnis actio vacare debet temeritate et negligentia.* Thus, first fearinge and praisinge God, and folowinge your booke and good companie, you shall become a great comforte to your father, and praise to your master, an honor to the universitie that breedes you, a fytte servaunte for the Queene and your countrey, for which you weare born, and to which, next God, you are moste bounde; a good staie to your self, and no smale joye to your freends; which I, that loves you, bothe wishe and hope of. And so

commend me to you, my goode Jack, and us bothe to Gods goodnes. From the Courte, the vith of June, 1578.

Your fathers frende that loves you.

BURLEIGHE.

John Haryngton's "Preface" to his Translation of "The Booke of Freendeship, by Marcus Tullie Cicero."

To the right vertuouse, and my singuler good Lady, Katharine, Duchess of Suffolke.[9]

As my prisonment and adversitee, moste honourable Lady, was (of their owne nature) joygned with greate and sundrie miseries, so was the sufferance of the same eased, by the

[9] Mother to the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey. My respected friend, Francis Douce, Esq. favoured me with the loan of the rare little volume to which this dedication was prefixed. As the writer calls it a 'prison-labour,' it must have been produced during his confinement in the Tower, about 1554; though Mr. Steevens, in his list of ancient English transla-

chaunce of dyverse and many commoditees.[9] For thereby founde I a great soule-profite, a lytle mynde-knowlage, some holow hertes, and a few faithful freendes. Whereby I tried prisonmente of the body, to bee the libertee of spirite; adversytee of fortune, the touchestone of freendshyp; exemption from the world, to be a contempte of vanitees; and in the ende, quietnes of minde, the occasion of study. And thus, somewhat altered, to avoyde my olde idlenesse, to recompense my loste tyme, and to take profite of my calamitee, I gave my selfe, amonge other thynges, to studie and learne the Frenche tonge, havyng both skilful prysoners to enstruct me, and therto plentie of bookes to learne the language. Among whyche, as there were dyverse notable, and for their sundry mattier woorthy readynge, so none lyked me above

tions, speaks of it as printed by Berthelette, in 1550. Such a date, however, is contrary to all collateral testimony, and to the evidence of Herbert, who records no earlier edition than that of 1562, printed by Powell, which is in the library of Mr. Douce. It is extremely probable that Mr. Steevens might have been led into casual error, from taking a hasty glance at Dr. Farmer's copy of the Book, which appears to have been bound up with Cebes' Table, printed by *Berthelet*, in 1550. It was easy to transfer the date, &c. to the accompanying tract.

[9] i. e. advantages.

this Tullius' booke of Freendshyp; nor for the argument any with it to be compared. The whole whereof whan I had perused, and sawe the goodly rules, the naturall order, and civyle use of freendshyp; where before I but liked, than was I ravished, and in a certaine wonder with the heathen lernyng, which chiefly for it selfe I phantasied, and for my state I deemed good to bee embraced, as a glasse to dyscerne my freendes in, and a civile rule to leade my life by.

These causes moved mee to thinke it mete for moe. Wherapon I (as I coulde) translated it; and though not so lyvelye, nor yet so aptlye, as some wold loke for, and many could doe, yet I trust they will rather beare with my good will, then rebuke my boldnes, for that it proceded more of a good mynd then of anie presumpcion of knowlage: and so my enterprise is to be enterpreted rather by freends, as a treatise of frendship, then by lerned clerkes in an argument of translacion.

Well how so ever it shalbe lyked of the learned, I hope it shalbe allowed of the unlatined, whose capacitiees by my owne I consider, and for lacke of a fine and flowynge stile, I

have used the playne and common speache, and to thende the sence mighte not be chaunged, nor the goodnes of the matter by shift of tounges, muche mynyshed, I caused it to be conferred wyth the Latine auctor, and so by the knowen wel lerned to be corrected: after whose handelynge me thought a newe spirite and life was geven it, and many partes semed as it were wyth a newe cote arayed, aswell for the orderly placynge and eloquently changeynge of some woordes, as also for the plainly openyng and learnedly amending of the sence, whiche in the Frenche translacyon was somewhat darkened, and by me (for lacke of knowlage) in many places missed.

Thus whan the thinge was perfected, and I behelde the fame of the auctor, the nature of the treatise, and the clerenesse of his teachyng; I coulde not judge to whome I shoulde rather offer it, than unto your Grace; whome the freendelesse dayly finde their defence, and the helples repaire to as a refuge. This did I not to teache you, but to let you see, in learnynge aunciente, *that* you have by nature used; nor to warne you of oughte you lacked, but to sette forthe your perfection; the proufe whereof the deade mighte wytnesse, and their ofspring hath

just cause to knowlage it, as mo can recorde it, then can requite it. And such your freendly stedfastnesse declared to the deade, doth assertaine us of your stedfast frendlinesse toward the livyng, whiche many have felte, and diverse doe prove, and fewe can want. Of which number your Grace hathe made me one, that neyther least, nor seldomest, have tasted of your benefites; both in my trouble, and also libertee. Wherefore your Grace (in my sight) is of all others most worthy this smal fruite of my prisons laboure, as a fitte patronesse to the honour of suche a worke, and a trewe example in whom it is fulfilled.

Thus the Lord of Trueth preserve you in freendshyp, encrease your frendes, and defende you from enemyes!

JOHN HARRYNGTON.[2]

[2] This Dedication might with more chronological propriety have followed Mr. Haryngton's letter to bishop Gardiner, at page 66, but did not happen to be obtained in time.

Translation, by Q. Elizabeth, of one of Tullie's familiar Epistles, given by her to John Haryngton, 1579.

TULLY TO CURIO.[2]

[Lib. ii. Epist. vi. ex recensione Grævii.]

I HAVE written these unto you by Sextus Julius,[3] my freend Miloe's companyon, not knowing whether you are yet comm into Italy; but because you are shortlie looked for, and it is certainlie reported, that you are nowe departed out of Asia toward Rome, the importance of the matter made us thinke no haste too great, beinge desierous you might receive lettres, as soone as might be. My Curio, if it wear I onlie, that had shewed you freendship, (and it indeed it is far greater by your acceptacion then by my accompte) I should hardlie be boulde to desier any great matter at your hands, for it

[2] The reader who is inclined to compare the present with the modern translation of our elegant Melmoth, will find this letter classed in Book iii. Epist. 17.

[3] *Qu.* Villius?

is a grief to an honest nature to aske any thinge whear he hath well deserved, leste he sholde seeme to demande rather then desier, and to aske a recompence rather then a benefitt. But seinge it is well knowen and famous, by reason of my meane beginninge, howe greatlie I am bounde unto youe, and seing it is a parte of a lovinge minde to desier to be more beholdinge[4] where he is mutch beholdinge all redye; I will not sticke to be a sutor unto you, in these my lettres, for the thinge which is most acceptable and necessarye for me of all others. For thoughe youe sholde do never so mutch for me, yet I dare presume it shall not be loste, trusting that no benefit can be soe great, but that either I shalbe able to receive it with kindnes, or to reward it with thankefulnes, or to honor it with commendacion.

Sir, I have sett all my studdie, diligence, care, labor, minde, soule, and all, to make Miloe consul; and I ame perswaded I ame bounde to doe it, not onlie as I wolde recompence my freend, but as I wolde honor my father; for I thinke theire was never man soe carefull for his life and goodes, as I ame for Miloe's preferment, whear-

[4] Beholden.

in methinks my hole state standes. Hearin I understande you can doe us soe much helpe that we shall neede to seeke no farther. All this we have alredie: the best sort, for the acts of his tribuneshipp for my sake, as I trust you thinke; the people and the multitude, for his showes and triumphes, and his liberall nature; the youth and the favourites, for his owne commendacion among theme; last of all, my voice, not soe mightie, perhapps, as others, yet estemed and honest, and bound unto hime, and theirfore may chaunce avayleable, nowe wee have but nede of a head and a capteine, and, as it were a master, to rule and govern these same windes; and, if wee shulde wishe for one in all this empire, we colde not chuse a fitter man then youe. And theirfore, if youe thinke me mindfull, if you thinke me thankfull, if you thinke me an honest man, that labor to earnestlie for my freinde; to conclude, if youe thinke me worthie of your benefitts, I desier you to help me in this my great care, and to assiste me to winn this honor, or rather, as it wear, to save my life. For Miloe himselfe, this I dare promisse, that you shall finde no man of more couradge, gravitie, constancie, or faithfulnes towardes youe, if youe will receive him into your freendshipp. And, for my parte, youe shall

doe me so muche honor and reputacion, as I shall have cause to confes that youe have shewed yourselffe as much my freend for my credit, as youe have done heartofore for my safetie. I doubt not but you see howe I ame tyed to this matter, and howe it importeth me not onlie to strive, but to fight alsoe to performe it, ells I wolde write more. But nowe I commend and deliver the whole matter and all my selffe into your handes. Onlie this I shall saie, if I obtaine it, I shall almoste be more bounde to you then to Miloe; for I ame not so glad that Miloe saved my life, as I would be glad to recompence hime for it. And I never looke to doe it but by your meanes onlie.

Order of Council to the Lord Mayor[5] of London, concerning Stubbes's Book; in the 21st Year of Q. Elizabeth's Reign.

To the Lord-Mayor of London.; after our right hartie commendacions.

Whearas their hathe bene of late printed and published, within that citie, a certaine libell

[5] Sir Nicholas Woodroofe.

intituled, "The Discoveringe of a gapinge gulphe, wherinto England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, yf the LORD forbid not the banes, by lettinge her Majestie see the sin and punishment therof:"[6]

[6] Mr. Douce has a manuscript copy of this tract, dated August 1579, with the following note prefixed. "This is the original MS. of that book which was written and published by John Stubbs, of Lincolns-Inn, and which was dispersed by Page, being printed by Singleton. Queen Elizabeth, incensed at it as puritanical, (Stubbs his sister having marry'd Thomas Cartwright, the father of the puritans;) prosecuted Stubbs and Page, upon a statute* made in Philip and Mary's reign against writing and dispersing seditious libels; and though the ablest judges and lawyers were not satisfied as to the force of that statute, yet were Stubbs's and Page's right hands both cut off with a butcher's knife and a mallet, in the market place at Westminster. This marriage with the Duke of Anjou was strenuously pushed on by the Queen-mother of France, upon a superstitious notion she had imbibed, that all her sons should be kings; and the Queen, (by her conduct) was inclinable enough to it, though, upon the change of the face of affairs abroad, she appeared so much mistress of herself to the last, as to disengage herself from it; so that this author's prayers were heard, though he suffered for pressing them with zeal and fervour." Singleton, the printer, was pardoned.—See Camden and Baker.

* This statute is not noticed by Mr. Daines Barrington, in his interesting volume of "Observations on our Ancint Statutes."

whearin the author hathe not onlie verie contemptuouslie intermedled in matters of state towchinge her Majesties person, but alsoe uttered certaine things to the dishonor of the Duke of Anjou, brother to the Frenche Kinge. Forasmuch as divers of the said books have been verie seditiouslie cast abroade, and secretlie dispersed into the hands of sondrie of her Majesties subjects, as well the inhabitants of that citie, as in other parts of this realme; with an intencion, as much as in them laie, to alter the mind of her Highness' good and dewtifull subjects, and to drawe them into a suspition and misliking of her Majestie's actions, as though the same tended to the prejudice of the realme, and subversion of the state of true religion, nowe a longe time, by the goodnes of Almightie God, and her Highness authoritie, as God's minister, established and contynewed amongst us. Albeit her Majestie hathe received such an assured opinion of the loyaltie of her said subjects, and speciallie of the inhabitants of that her citie of London, that they will not soe easelie give credit to any suche secret synister devises, tending to the impairing and defacinge of her Highnes good proceedings, especiallie in the pointe of religion, where shee hath willed us to assure you, that she desireth no longer life than shee shalbe

a mayntayner and upholder of the same; yet forasmuch on the one parte, it behoveth her Majestie in honor to have soe notorious an injurie, done to soe great a Prince, her neighbour, (whoe in suche kinde and confident sorte, all respecte of perill and dainger layd aparte, vowchsafed to doe her Majestie that honor to come and visit her,) repaired by all the waies and meanes that any waie can be devised: soe on the other side, hir Highnes is verie desierous, that as hitherto she hathe bene verie carefull (as by her doings hathe well appeared) to maintaine and contynewe this realme, bothe in matters of pollicie and religion, in such quiet and peaceable estate as hitherto she hathe done, and which never any Prince did more carefullie before; soe at this present it sholde be knowen unto her subjects what her meaning is; not by any treating or dealing with the said Duke of Anjou, whoe, neither by himselffe nor his ministers, dyd at anye time presse her to doe anye thinge to the prejudice of this state, to innovate or infringe any thinge in the government which shee hath bothe established, and hytherto, by God's goodnes and assystaunce, maintayned against sondry dessegnes and complotts of many enimies, of whome, the Lord be thanked, there is at present no souche great doubt as was hereto-

fore to be conceived. For these and other good consideracions, to the intent that her said subjects give not any credit to suche untrewe and vaine suspitions, her Highnes hathe at this present caused a proclamation[7] to be made in her name, to be printed and directed thither to be published; at the publishing whearof within that citie and liberties in place accustomed, her Majesties pleasure is, that you the Lord Mayor, accompanyed with some good nombre of the aldermen your bretherin, and the shrives, nowe as in like cases hath bene accustomed, shoulde be presente. And further, for the better confirminge of the inhabitants of the said citie on her Majestie's sincere meaning towards theme, and the whole realme, it is alsoe thought convenient, and soe wee require your lordship to call the masters, governors, and wardens of the companies of the citie before you, and, in hir Highnes name, to commaund theme, that, appointinge some daie as soone as convenientlie maie be, for the assemblies in their severall halls of their companies, they doe cause the said proclamation and contents of these our letters to be openlie red and published; chardginge all

[7] This proclamation, dated Sept. 27, may be seen in Strype's Annals, vol. ii.

and everie person, upon the penaltie contayned in the said proclamation, to bringe unto the said master, governor, and wardens, all such the said bookes, printed or written, as they or any of theme maie have. And bothe nowe, and frome tyme to tyme hereafter, to signifie what persons, to their knowledge, have, or maie have had, any of the said bookes; which bookes ye shall chardge the said master, governor, and wardens, to bringe unto you, with the names of the parties and manner how they came by theme, except in cases where any person shall willinglie bring the same themselves to lighte, to be distroyd according to the content of the said proclamation:[7] and thereupon shall, with as muche speede as you convenientlie maie, perticulerlie certifie us theirof, to th' entent, if any person shall be found culpable, wee maie take such further order as shalbe thought expedient. And soe, earnestlie chardging you that hearof their be no defalt, as youe tender her Majesties favour, and will, upon your perill, aunswer the contrarie, wee byd you right hartelie

[7] A still more severe injunction was laid against Doleman's "Conference about the succession to the crowne of Ingland," in 1594; for it was enacted, that whosoever should be found to have the book in his house should be guilty of *high treason*. See Wood's Athenæ, i. 359.

farewell. From Gyddye-Hall,[8] the 27 of Septembre, 1579.

Your Lordship's verie loving freendes,

	W. Burghley.
Bromley, Canc.	H. Hunsdon.
Rob. Leycester.	H. Sydney.
Chr. Hatton.	Fra. Walsingham.

Mr. John Stubbes his Petition to Q. Elizabeth, during his Imprisonment for writing a Libel on her intended Marriage[9] with Monsieur.

If my lotte, most dread and gratious Soveraigne, when it was at the beste, was yet so lowe, as I never was worthie one least looke of

[8] Or Gidea-hall, in Essex the seat of Sir Anthony Cooke, who entertained Queen Elizabeth there during her progress in 1568. See Lysons' Environs. A view of the house was given in "Histoire de l'Entrée de la Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestian, dans la Grande Bretaigne," 1639. This view has been copied in the Progresses, &c. of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i.

[9] See an order of council to the Lord Mayor of London, respecting the proclamation, at p. 143.

your Majesties eyes; howe shoulde I, (nowe that I ame in bodelie bondes, and, which is the great captivitie of myne afflicted minde, in this highe indignation of your Majestie,) be yet so hardie to crave that patience of your royall eares, as to have my humble wordes harkened unto? Surely, even this emboldeneth my panting harte, that, as the KING of Kinges, the Lord of heaven and earthe, dothe take to his singuler recommendacion, and redelye heareth burdened mindes owt of their deepest dongeons; the effect of which his promisses I have, by his mercie, felte in this time of myne humbling; even so that princes, which are his visible Majesty among men, do endeavour to resemble the L. of Lordes, not onlie in chieffest authoritie and soveraigne commanding, but chiefflie in that which he saith is *over all his workes*, that is, *mercie and forgivenes:* whearunto comes, as an addition of sustaining me in this hartning, that my prince is a christian lady, whose naturall inclination to pittie religion hath also taughte to have compassion, whearof I have seen many experiences, to the great name of her clemencie, and no small support of my troubled minde; and as those praiers, which have any promisse of hearing from GOD, must be qualified with a sorrowfull acknowledgment of the synnes wee

have committed, and of his gratious pardon to be bestowed on us undeservedlie; even soe ame I the boulder to offer this supplicatorye submission and peticion into your Majesties handes, because it is the verye true and unfained witnessing of my prostrate harte, laden with grieff, to have, by this acte, incurred your princelie displeasure, and to have disquyeted or troubled your gratious harte, whearunto I have and ever shall contynewallye wishe all happie and constant contentation; and ame the sorrowfullest man in the worlde, that one minute of the contrarye sholde fall owt, and that by the moste unhappie man, in that respect; who, if I had supposed this thinge wolde have reached soe highlie, either in offence or disquiet to the minde of my natural Queene, or in so haynous breache of the lawes for your Majestie's peace, I wolde moste willinglie have redeemed the paine for one hand with both handes; and rather to have had no lyfe, then to fall in my Princes thoughte for a suspect[2] subject of dowbtfull loyaltie, or to be recorded in soe highe a court of this lande for a miserable turbulous[3] wretche, seekinge to interrupt her peace, and

[2] i. e. suspicious.

[3] Turbulent.

that state by whom I stande, and cannot by anye other chaunge be chaunged, but from worsse to worsse. Submittinge myselffe, therfore, in all truthe and humblenes of harte upon my knees, to the highe censure of your royall wisdome, and to that judgment which is given against me by lawe, as towching my owtward fact, and everie circumstaunce theirof, I crave (by your most gratious favour) pardon to saie theise fewe wordes for my selffe, the contrary whearof I cannot saie, though it were to save my head: that is, that my poore harte never conceived malitious thought, or wicked purpose, against your Majestie's person or state; but joyed and rejoysed in your life, helth, honor, and peace; judging the contrarye to be the greatest calamitie earthlie that colde befall either to this commonweale, or my private estate, which, as trulye as I speak, and according to my thought, I pray HIM that is the revealer of secrett thoughts, and who hath the prince's hart in his hande, to worke even that perswation which is according to the simple and sincere truthe of that I write; whearupon, if there might ensue first and principallie some better conceiving, or at least not so evell opinion, of my single-harted allegeaunce; and, secondarelie, some mitigation of your great indig-

nation; I wolde reckon but as in the third place, and for an accessarye benefitt, *the pardon of my hande.* The whiche, unlesse it maie like your gratious Majestie, of your free mercye, and accustomed pittie, to give me againe, there is nothing in me alredie to move youe, neither can I promisse any newe and worthye recompence of service dewe for so great a grace; for, alasse! what can my poore hande performe? And whatsoever my hearte can wishe, your Majestie hath heartofore deserved whollie by greatter benefitts under your governement.—This then can be the onlie use of it, even to bear it abowt with me, while I live, for an evident gage of your prince-like, lady-like, christian, free mercie towards me, provoking other, as it were, by the livelie speaking theirof, to deserve well of her by well-doinge, who is so reddie to doe well withowt desert, and to be gratiouslie merciful to soe grevous an offendour. The Lorde God cut off bothe their handes, and shorten their armes, who doe not, with all their hart, praie for your everlastinge lyfe in heaven, after your godlie, longe, happie, honorable, helthfull, and joyfull lyfe here on earth. Amen.

JOHN STUBBES.

Mr. John Stubbes his Wordes upon the Scaffolde, when he lost his Haund, on Tewsdaie, 3 Novembre, 1579.[4]

"WHAT a grieffe it is to the bodie to lose one of his membres you all knowe. I ame come hither to receive my punishment, according to the lawe. I ame sorie for the losse of my haund, and more sorie to lose it by judgment; but most of all with her Majesties indignation and evell opinion, whome I have soe highlie dis-

[4] Camden records this event under the year 1581, perhaps for the sake of connecting it with the Duke of Anjou's history, since the present document and Stubbs's petition to the privy-council concur in fixing it to 1579. In that year the Duke of Anjou came to England, *incognito*, to visit Queen Elizabeth, after his proxy had been favourably received; and this clandestine mode of courtship was inveighed against by Stubbs, as an "unmanlike, unprincelike, needy, French kind of woing." He even proceeded to tell his readers—"This man [the Duke] is a son of Henry the second, whose familie, ever since he maryed with Catherine of Italie, is fatal, as it were, to resist the Gospell, and have been every one after other, as a Domitian after Nero, as a Trajan after Domitian, and as Julianus after Trajan. Here is, therefore, an *imp* of the crown

pleased. Before I was condempned, I might speak for my innocencie; but nowe my mouth is stopped by judgment, to the which I submitt myselffe, and ame contente patientlie to endure whatsoever it pleaseth God, of his secrett providence, to laie upon me, and take it justlie deserved for my sinnes; and I pray God it maie be an example to youe all, that it beinge soe daungerous to offend the lawes, without an evell meaninge, as breedeth the losse of a haund, youe maie use your haunds holylye, and praie to God for the longe preservation of her Majestie over youe, whome God hath used as an instrument for a longe peace and many blessings over us; and speciallie for his Gospell,

of Fraunce, to marye with the crowned *nymphe* of Englande." A letter, however, written on the same occasion by Sir P. Sidney to the Queen, and printed in "Scrinia Ceciliana," is little less caustic in its contemptuous expressions toward Monsieur. "How the hearts of your people (says he) will be galled, if not aliened, when they shall see you take a husband, a Frenchman, and a papist; in whom the very common people well know this, that he is the son of a Jezabel of our age, that his brother made oblation of his own sister's marriage, the easier to make massacres of our brethren in belief. As long as he is but Mounsieur in might, and a papist in profession, he neither can nor will greatly shield you: and if he grow to be king, his defence will be like Ajax' shield, which rather weighed them down than defended those that bare it."

whearby shee hathe made a waie for us to rest and quietnes of our consciences. For the French I force not; but my greatest grieffe is, in soe many weekes and daies imprisonment, her Majestie hath not once thought me worthie of her mercie, which she hath often times extended to divers persons in greater offences. For my haund, I esteeme it not soe mutch, for I thinke I colde have saved it, and might do yet; but I will not have a guiltlesse harte and an infamous haunde. I praie youe all to praie with me, that God will strengthen me to endure and abide the paine that I ame to suffre, and graunt me this grace, that the losse of my haunde do not withdrawe any parte of my dewtie and affection toward her Majestie, and because, when soe many veines of bloude are opened, it is uncertaine howe they maie be stayed, and what wilbe the event theirof."—(Then, kneeling on his knees, hee said)—" I beseeche youe all to praye for me, that it wolde please God to forgive me my sinnes; and I crave pardon of all the worlde, and freelie forgive everie one that hathe offended me; and soe with mercie to deale with me, that whether I live or die, I may live or die his servaunt. My maisters, if their be any among youe that doe love me, if your love be not in God and her Majestie, I utterlie

denie your love." The haund redie on the block to be striken off, he said often to the people: "Praye for me, nowe mye calamitie is at hande." And soe, with these wordes, it was smitten of, whereat he sownded.[5]

Mr. Robert Page his Wordes on the Scaffolde.

"I AME come hither to receive the lawe according to my judgment, and thanke God of all; and of this I take God to witnes, that knoweth the hartes of all men, that, as I ame sorie I have offended her Majestie, so did I

[5] Camden was a spectator of this scene, and reports that after Stubbs had lost his right hand, he took off his hat with his left, and said, in a loud voice, "God save the Queen." See also the relation of Stubbs to the privy council. Camden adds, that "the multitude standing about was deeply silent; either out of an horrour at this new and unwonted kind of punishment; or else out of commiseration towards the man, as being of an honest and unblameable repute; or else out of hatred of the marriage, which most men presaged would be the overthrow of religion." Hist. of Eliz. 1581.

This account serves to confirm the sagacious observation of Mr. Justice Barrington, that "punishment is sometimes

never mene harme to her Highness' person, crowne, or dignitie; but have bene as trewe a subject as any was in Englande, to my abilitie, except none:" (and holdinge up his right haund, he said) "This haund did I put to the ploughe, and got my living by it many yeres. If it wolde have pleased her Highnes to have pardoned it, and to have taken my lefte haund, or my life, shee had delte more favourablie with me, for nowe I have no meanes to live; but God, which is the father of us all, will provide for me. I beseche youe all to praie for me, that I maie take this punishment patientlie." And soe he layd his haund upon the block, and prayed the executioner quicklie to dispatch hime; and soe at ij blowes his haund was smitten of. So, lifting up the stompe, he said to the people, "I have lefte there a trewe Englyshmans haund." And so went from the scaffolde very stoutlie, and with great corradge.

more severe, by its tortures, than can ever answer the great end for which punishments become necessary; since, if the criminal excites the pity of the spectator, the crime for which he suffers is forgotten, and the law and its ministers are considered as cruel and vindictive." Obs. on Treasons.

Mr. John Stubbes his Supplication to the Queene's Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell.

In all humble and piteous wise besecheth your Honors John Stubbes, now a double close prisoner; first, by her Majesties highe displeasure; and then by reason of a sore wounded and feeble bodie; that, for so mutch as the same John Stubbes hath no longer his one hande to declare his owne grevous plighte, he maie have your honorable patience to heare these gronings of his greeved harte; as also that, by your Honors godlie and pitifull meanes, they maie be made knowen to her Majestie. This wounde of my bodie, Right Honourables, thoughe it be great, yet it is but a wounde of the bodie; but the continewaunce of her Majesties highe indignation perceth deeper, and inwardlie woundeth the minde, in suche sorte, as it worketh back againe on my bodie, and affecteth my outward wounde; and, because the laying forth of my afflicted estate were not inoughe to move compassion, unles also my hart stood everie waie

so disposed as became me; this I crave further, with your Honors leave, that I maie speake frome an unfained harte, which is, that it hartilie greeveth me to have greeved or offended her Majestie, or to have broken any of her lawes; and that, not so mutche for the punishment fallen upon me, as that I ame most loth to be the cause of any trouble to her Majestie and the state, whose peace and prosperitie I must of conscience praye for and procure. And for the owtward fact, whearin myne offence consisteth, I humblie submitt myselffe to the highe censure of her Royall Majestie, and the grave wisdomes of her honorable counsellours; and, as the judgment passed by lawe against me doth stopp my mouth to saie contrary theirunto; soe I beseech the Lorde, that my hart maie never murmurr or repine against it, in any secrett thoughte. What my owtward behaviour was at the barr, and on the scaffolde, I referr to the reporte of them that hearde and sawe; as towchinge my harte, God knowes howe, in bothe places, my chief care was to committ nothing contrary to the dewtie of a true christian man, or a faithfull subject to our most gratious Queen Elizabeth, either in myne owne person, or by example to others. Your honorable inclination of christian pittie towardes the dis-

comforted and greeved wilbe as much moved by these fewe broken speatches, as if my sadd hart laye sighing, and my handless stompe laye bleedinge before youe. Resting myselffe theirfore upon the same, I humblie recommend my sorrowfull harte, my painfull bodie, and my whole estate, afflicted as it is, first to GOD, and then to her Majestie; whome, if it maie please, of her accustomed grace, by your honourable mediation, to release me of this streighte restrainte, I hope she shall save that life, whiche shall alwaies owe itselffe to her Majesties service, as theire where it is dewe. The LORD contynewe your Honours happie estate under her Majesties long, peaceable, and honorable reigne. Amen.

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[7] THE selffe-same pitifull and humble sute, which I have presented to your lordship alreddie, together with the rest of her Majesties privie counsaile, by general lettres of supplication, I ame boulde to recommend alsoe a parte

[7] This part of the petition appears to have been addressed individually to the president of the privy council, or some high officer of state.

to your honorable compassion by these fewe petitionarye lynes, whearunto, me thinks, I ame moved by some good reason, under your lordships favour, and this it is: that, even as the Lorde God directed the first examining of me to your lordship, so I hope it will please him, by the same, to give me a good issewe of my troubles; and as, before the matter founde owte, he then gave you the deligent endevour of a vigilant magistrate to examine and resiste, by timelie foresighte, any thinge that might fall owt perilous to this common-welthe, whearof you have not the least chardge, as well in counsaile of the state as for administracion of justice; even soe, nowe that the matter is nakedlie revealed, and the worste theirof fallen upon myselffe, withowt any other disturbaunce to her Majesties common peace, whearof I thanke God more then for my life; I hope verelye, and that with mutche comforte, to finde in your lordship that noble disposition which delighteth in procuringe mercie, and that christian pittie which taketh pleasure in comfortinge oppressed hartes. I cannot tell howe to move your honor hearunto by any reason drawen from myne owne person, unles the Lorde onlie doe worke it; ffor, if I sholde alledge my humble behaviour before the judgment-seat, it was no more

then the reverence of that place teacheth any man of common honestie. If I sholde remember my dewtifull suffering the punishement, in so mutche as in my bitterest extremitie, and immediately after my hande cutt off, even upon the place, the Lorde gave me grace to speake these wordes from an unfaygned harte, "God save the Queen!" yet was all this no more then every man sholde doe which maketh conscience to give none evell example to others of the least repining thought against God's sacred magistrate, or dewe execution of justice. If I sholde reckon up my longe imprisonment, my painfull wounde, my weke wretched bodie, my want of abilitie to bere these exceeding extraordinarie expences, and the present shipwracke of my poore estate; all these are but the sowre fruites growing by my owne offence, whearof I have not had a light taste of pallatte, but digested theme into every veine of my harte. Somthinge it maie speake for me, that my poore wife and little childe (ij sillie innocents in mine offence,) have yet their great parte in all these myne adversities. But this is the some[7] of all I can saie for pittie, that the losse of my haunde dothe not more wounde my bodie, then it peerceth

[7] Sum.

my minde soe highlie to have offended and grieved her Majestie, unto whome I ame soe mutch bounde in bodie and sowle. And further, it is myne exceeding sorrowe to have transgressed her Majestie's lawes, which I have ever loved for the wisdome that is in theme, and honored for the necessitie that is of them. Finallie, most unhappie doe I esteeme myselffe in doing any thinge that might have troubled the long peace of her Majestie's state, whiche hathe nourished me in my youthe, and whearin I desier to waxe olde, and after which I neither wishe to live, nor feare to die. If, in all these lamentable respects, it maie please her Majestie to graunte mercie to me, and your good lordship haste it for me, soe as my minde maie be released of the grevous bondes of her hevie displeasure, and my bodie freed, under suche condicion as shall seme good, from this uncomfortable and chardgeable imprisonement, your lordship maie soe be a mean to save the languishing lyfe of him who, if he can doe nothing ells, yet shall he live to praie for and rejoice in her Majesties longe life and happie raigne over us: and to your lordship he shalbe singulerlie bounde to wishe, besides the increase of earthlie honor, the effectuall accomplishment of those promisses, whiche our mercifull God maketh to

theme, and their many generations, which are *pitifull* and *love mercie:* to the which Lord God I hartelie commend her Majesties royall estate over us, and your honorable contynewaunce under her favour.

Your Lordship's

humble suiter in bondes.

The howse which is my prison, the 3 of Dec. 1579.

JOHN STUBBES.

From Sir John Harington's Papers, called his "Breefe Notes and Remembraunces."

APRIL 4th, 1594. It was bruitede[8] at cowrte that Davide Areskine, a Scotish man, had basely reviled the Queenes Majestie, by sayinge "she was cosenede by the devile, and solde her faithe for hypocrisie, in the matter of the Queene of Scotlandes deathe."—It dothe not

[8] i. e. reported. So Churchill—

"Let it be *bruited* all about the town."

behoove us ordinarie mene to touche on extra-ordinary affaires. "God directethe princelie counciles," saithe Sir William W——;[9] and yet, God wot, Sir William is a shallow wighte.—Heav'n defende mortal man from hypocrisie!

I came home to Kelstone, and founde my Mall, my childrene, and my cattle, all well fedde, well taughte, and well belovede. 'Tis not so at cowrte; ill breeding with ill feedinge, and no love but that of the lustie god of gallantrie, Asmodeus. I am to send goode store of newes from the countrie, for hir Highnesse entertainmente. I shall not leave behinde my neighbour Cotton's horn, for a plentifull horn it is.—Her Highnesse lovethe merrie tales.—My howse at Bathe I have promisede to younge Sheltone, who may do me kindnesse with his lorde; and as for his ladie, I will do my kindnesse as I shall liken myselfe.—Must not talke more about Spanishe grandeur, and well-shapen mustachoes.

Sunday, June 14. The Queenes Majestie tastede my wife's comfits, and did moche praise

[9] *Wood*, a clerk of the council, says Mr. Malone.

her cunninge in the makinge.—Sende no more: for other ladies jealousie workethe againste my Mall's *comfits,* and this will not *comforte* her.—I will write a damnable storie, and put it in goodlie verse, aboute Lord A——;[2] he hathe done me some ill turnes.—God keepe us from lyinge and slander worke.

The Queene stoode up, and bade me reache forthe my arme to reste her thereon. Oh, what swete burden to my nexte songe!—Petrarcke shall eke out good matter for this businesse.

The sweete ladies suite to her Majestie I will forwarde.—Woud God I never had so manie suites of mine owne to forwarde withe ladies as I have heretofore.—*Militavi non sine gloriâ.* The Queene loveth to see me in my laste frize jerkin, and saithe *'tis well enoughe cutt.* I will have another made liken to it. I do remember she spit on Sir Mathew's[3] fringed clothe, and said, *the fooles wit was gone to ragges.*—Heav'n spare me from suche jibinge.

[2] *Qu.* Admiral? probably Charles Howard, E. of Nottingham.

[3] *Forsan* Sir Mathew Arundel?

I talkede muche to the Treasurer on sundrie matters latelie, which hathe been reportede.

Who livethe in cowrtes, muste marke what they saie,
Who livethe for ease, had better live awaie.

In August I was muche troublede at sundrie grievances from divers menne in high states; but envie dothe haunte manie, and breed jealousie. I will bid adieu to good companie, and leave sueing and seeking at cowrte; for if I have nó more friends nor better at Heaven's cowrte than at this, I shall beginne to thinke somewhat of breefe damnation.

I have spente my time, my fortune, and almoste my honestie, to buy false hope, false friends, and shallow praise;—and be it rememberd, that he who castethe up this reckoning of a cowrtlie minion, will sette his summe like a foole at the ende, for not beinge a knave at the beginninge. Oh, that I coud boaste with chaunter David, *In te speravi, Domine!*[4]

[4] Vid. Ps. 71. Much in unison with the pathetic aspiration of Wolsey, at the close of his courtly career, when the tide of royal favour was turned against him.

I muste turne my poore wittes towardes my suite for my landes in the northe. Sir Ralph H——[6] biddethe me move the Queenes Majestie in my behalfe, and that stoutlie; she lovethe plaine dealinges, and I will not lie unto her. The earle doth tell me one waie, but I shall not abide thearby; I have seen those faile by such devices.—I muste go in an earlie hour, before her Highnesse hathe speciale matters broughte up to councel on.—I muste go before the breakfastinge covers are placede, and stande uncovered as her Highnesse comethe forthe her chamber;—then kneel and saie, "God save youre Majestie, I crave youre eare at what houre may suite for youre servante to meete your blessede countenaunce." Thus will I gaine her favoure to followe to the auditorie.

Truste not a friende to doe or saie
In that yourselfe can sue or praie.

Yesterday I was neare drunkene, and to daye am neare sicke, and perchance to-morrowe maye be bothe sicke and sorrie; my cosin did chide me, and saide, "I bade my man lighte

[6] *Forsan* Horsey?

his taper at the moone." It maie be so, Horace saithe

Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia.

I see some men who love gameing, some men who love wenching, some men who love wine, and some who love trencheringe:[7]—These ofte finde an emptie purse, runninge reins, an acheinge heade, and grumblinge guttes. Now, what findethe he who lovethe the "pride of life," the cowrtes vanitie, ambition's puff ball? In soothe, no more than emptie wordes, grinninge scoffe, watching nightes, and fawninge daies.—

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

One Sunday (April last) my lorde[8] of London preachede to the Queenes Majestie, and seemede to touche on the vanitie of deckinge the bodie too finely.—Her Majestie tolde the ladies, that "If the bishope helde more discorse on suche matters, shee wolde fitte him for hea-

[7] i. e. eating: trenchers being then used instead of plates. See "Orders for Household Servants," p. 106.

[8] *Qu.* Bp. Elmer, or Bancroft?

ven, but he shoulde walke thither withoute a staffe, and leave his mantle behind him:" perchance the bishope hathe never soughte her Highnesse wardrobe, or he woulde have chosen another texte.

I heare I ame markede out for the nexte yeers sherrife for the countie of Somersette.[9] I will not gibe at the judge, as my neighbour did, when he was appointede to that charge, and with more wit than good heed, told the judge, who complainde of stonie roades, and fearede muche the dangers of our western travellinge; "In goode soothe, Sir, it be but faire playe, that you, who so ofte make others feare for theire neckes, shoud in some sorte beginne to thinke of savinge your owne." Herewithe Judge Minos was not well pleasede, but saide, "Goode maister Sherife, leave alone my necke, and looke to youre owne heeles, for you may one daye be laide by them." Nor did his anger here reste, for on very slighte offence in cowrte,

[9] He served this office, according to Fuller, in 1591: sed quære 1592? See the prefix to Orders for Household Servants, p. 105. In two of the Harleian MSS. he is described as a justice of peace for Somersetshire, A. D. 1601.

he fined my wittie neighboure five poundes: *felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*— So shall I (when in such companie) make no accounte of the countie wayes, but looke well to my owne.

I muste not forgette to call on the Treasurer: he that dothe not love the *man*, will have little favoure with the *mistresse*, and I am in good likinge withe bothe, praisede be God.—My Lorde of Essex is also my friende, and that not in bad sorte. He bidds me lay goode holde on her Majesties bountie, and aske freely. I will attende to-morrowe, and leave this little poesie behinde her cushion at my departinge from her presence.

TO THE QUEENS MAJESTIE.[2]

For ever dear, for ever dreaded Prince,
You read a verse of mine a little since,
And so pronounc'st each word, and every letter,
Your gracious reading grac'st my verse the better:
Sith then your Highnesse doth, by gift exceeding,
Make what you read the better for your reading;

[2] Printed in his Epigrams, Lib. iv. Ep. 13, and entitled, "The author to Queene Elizabeth, in praise of her reading."

Let my poor muse your pains thus farre impórtune,
Like as you read my verse, so—*read my Fortune.*

From your Highnesse saucy Godson.

Note here, how muche will a man even benefitte his enemie, provided he dothe put him out of his owne waie? My Lord of Essex did lately want Sir George Carew[3] to be Lord Leiutenante of Ireland, rather than his owne unkle, Sir William Knollys,[4] because he had given him some cause of offence, and by thus thrusting him into high office, he would remove him from cowrte.

October [1598]. I this daye wente to the new Lord High Treasurer, Lorde Buckhirst; I was not ill receivede, nor, in soothe, so well as I had beene usede to in the daye of Lorde Burleighe. When shall oure realme see suche a man, or when suche a mistresse have suche a servante; well mighte one weepe when the other diede.[5] This choice doth well assure us that

[3] Lieutenant of the Ordnance.

[4] Comptroller of the Household.

[5] See the letters of Mr. Rob. Markham and Sir Rob. Sidney.

in the witte of the servante dwellethe the master's fortune, and that all states have thriven better or worse, as the government was given to suche as were honeste as well as able. If a king hathe not discernemente to chuse a few wise heads, how shall he subdue the many foolish hearts; or how shall the leaves and blossom flourish when the sap is corruptede at the roote of the plante? I coud herewithe cite manie good authorities both Greek and Latin, to prove this mine opinion, but I do remember what Burleigh did once saye, in my hearinge, to Walsingham, who had been waiting to confer with him aboute manie great matters, whereof I had borne some parte, in bearinge a message from the Queen to Hatton. When my Lord Treasurer did come in from prayers, Sir Francis Walsingham did in merrie sorte say, that "he wished himself so goode a servant of God as Lord Burleigh, but that he had not been at churche for a week past." Now my Lord Burleigh did gravely replye thus;—"I holde it meete for us to aske God's grace to keep *us* sounde of hearte, who have so much in our powre, and to direct us to the well doinge of all the people, whom it is easie for us to injure and ruine; and herein, my good friendes, the special blessinge seemethe meete

to be discretely askede and wisely worne." I did not a little marvele at this goode discourse, to see how a good man considerethe his weightie charge, and strivethe to keepe oute Satane from corruptinge the hearte in discharge of his duties. Howe fewe have suche heartes or suche heades; and therefore shall I note this for those that read hereafter.

It is worthie noting, when we finde how little sure happiness is allotted even to the mightie on earthe. Philip [II.] of Spain reigned fortie-two years in troubles and disquietudes,[6] loste his provinces, whilste he was strivinge to enlarge his possessions, and then in olde age was eaten by lice when livinge: "God grante me no further ambition than to be eaten by wormes when I am deade!" and this I saide to the Queene.

The Queene seemede troubled to daye; Hatton came out from her presence with ill countenaunce, and pulled me aside by the girdle, and saide, in secrete waie, "If you have any

[6] He died Sept. 13, 1598.

suite to daie, I praye you put it aside, *The sunne dothe not shine.*" 'Tis this accursede Spanishe businesse; so will not I adventure her Highnesse *choller*, leste she shoulde *collar* me also.

News from the ambassadors to France:— Wilkes[7] died at Paris. God speed Cecil and Herbert, or we shall ill speede at home. It is a base matter in Henrie of France, to make peace withouten his allyes and friends: I coud wyshe her Highnesse could once rounde him in the eare aboute this matter; she seemethe in apte sorte for suche businesse, for she callede him, in my hearinge, " the Antichriste of ingratitude."

[1599.] The Iryshrie are muche given to whoredome, as I sawe at Munster, where the souldiers, withouten clothes on their backes or foode in their bellies, were lying under hedges withe marvelous ill favourede wenches, whom

[7] Sir Thomas Wilkes; from whom several letters occur in the Sidney papers, vol. i. where some account of him is given. He died in 1598. Sir Robert Cecil was his colleague in his last embassy to France.

they woud rather perish for, than fighte for; and herebie were much injurie to their cause, for nothing but stripes coud bringe them to their dutie. They likewise are abusive in their discourse; and yet they do appeare (in the upper sorte) very kinde and hospitable to all new comers, as I did well experience in this countrie, even so muche as (if my owne landes were here) I woude hazarde my dwellinge with them for life. I was often well entertaind, and in some sorte got ill will for speakinge in praise of their civil usage among our owne commanders, whome I often tolde that tho' I was sente oute to fighte withe some, there did appeare no reason for my not eatinge withe others. I was well usede, and therefore am in dutie bounde to speake welle of the Irishrie.

The Queene did once aske my wife in merrie sorte, "how she kepte my goode wyll and love, which I did alwayes mayntaine to be trulie goode towardes her and my childerne?" My Mall, in wise and discreete manner, tolde her Highnesse, "she had confidence in her husbandes understandinge and courage, well founded on her own stedfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherishe and obey; hereby did

she persuade her husbande of her own affectione, and in so doinge did commande his."—"Go to, go to, mistresse, saithe the Queene, you are wisely bente I finde: after suche sorte do I keepe the good wyll of all my husbandes, my good people; for if they did not reste assurede of some specyal love towarde them, they woud not readilie yeilde me suche goode obedience."—This deservethe notinge, as beinge bothe wise and pleasaunte.

What perylls have I escaped! I was entrusted by Essex, whom I did adventure to visite, withe a message to the Queenes Majestie, settinge forthe his contrition and sore greivance for his manie offences. I was righte glade to heare suche contrition, and labourede to effecte this matter; but ere I coude beare these tydinges, (whiche I was well advysede to do,) the earle's petition reached her hand, and I fear her displeasure too, but herein I bore no parte. I was muche encouraged to go throughe this friendlye parte on manie sides, but I saide,—"Charitie did begin at home, and shoud alwaies sayle with a faire winde, or it was not likelie to be a prosperous voyage." I had nearly been wracked on the *Essex coaste* in my laste venture, as I tolde

the Queene, had it not been for the sweete calme of her specyal forgivenesse. I have hearde muche on bothe handes, but the wiser *he* who reportethe nothinge hereof. Did either knowe what I knowe either have saide, it woulde not worke muche to contentemente or goode lykinge.

It restethe wyth me in opynion, that ambition thwarted in its career, dothe speedilie leade on to madnesse; herein I am strengthened by what I learne in my lord of Essex, who shyftethe from sorrowe and repentaunce to rage and rebellion so suddenlie, as well provethe him devoide of goode reason or righte mynde. In my laste discourse,[8] he uttered strange wordes borderinge on suche strange desygns, that made me hasten forthe and leave his presence. Thank heaven! I am safe at home, and if I go in suche troubles againe, I deserve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole. His speeches of the Queene becomethe no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hathe ill advysers, and muche evyll hathe sprunge from thys source. The Queene well knowethe how to humble the

[8] i. e. conversation.

haughtie spirit; the haughtie spirit knoweth not how to yield, and the man's soule seemeth tossede to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea.

[Kelston.] 1603. Here now wyll I reste my troublede mynde, and tende my sheepe like an Arcadian swayne, that hathe loste his faire mistresse; for in soothe, I have loste the beste and faireste love that ever shepherde knew, even my gracious Queene; and sith my goode mistresse is gone, I shall not hastily put forthe for a new master. I heare oure new Kynge hathe hangede one man before he was tryede; 'tis strangely done: now if the wynde blowethe thus, why may not a man be tryed before he hathe offended.—I wyll keepe companie with none but my *oves* and *boves*, and go to Bathe and drinke sacke, and wash awaie remembraunces of paste times in the streams of Lethe.

I hear muche (by pryvate means) of strange plottes by Cobham, Grey, Raleighe, and others. I have no concerns of this sorte, save that my man Ralphe hathe stolen two cheeses from my dairy-house;—I wish he were chokede here-

wyth! and yet the fellow hathe five childerne; I wyll not sue hym if he repentethe and amendethe.

Manie letters from the cowrte at Wilton, persuade me to come thereto, and some speciall notices from persons in highe state.

My poor cosen, Sir Griffyth Markham, prayethe my servyce in his behalfe wyth the Kynge, concernynge his imprysonmente.[9]

I must wryte my news to my poore wyfe. The bishops came to the Kynge aboute the petition of the puritans; I was by, and heard much dyscourse. The Kynge talked muche Latin, and disputed wyth Dr. Reynoldes, at Hampton, but he rather usede upbraidinges than argumente; and tolde the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christe againe, and bid them awaie with their snivellinge: moreover, he wishede

[9] Sir Griffin Markham, having been concerned in a conspiracy with Raleigh and others, in 1603, received sentence of death, but was reprieved on the scaffold, and retired in indigence to the Low Countries, where he became a spy to Sir Tho. Edmonds. See Lodge's Illustr. and Birch's Q. Eliz.

those who woud take away the surplice, mighte want linen for their own breech. The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his Majestie spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foule mouthede. I cannot be presente at the next meetinge, though the bishope of London saide I myghte be in the anti-chamber: it seemethe the Kynge wyll not change the religious observances.—There was muche dyscourse aboute the rynge in marriage, and the crosse in baptisme; but if I guesse aryghte, the petitioners againste *one crosse* wyll finde *another*.

I thys day heard the Kynge delyver hys speeche to the commons and lordes, and notede one parte thereof, wherein his Majestie callede the devil *a busy bishope*, sparinge neither laboure nor paines. My lorde of London tolde me, "he thoughte his Majestie mighte have chosen another name."

John Harington to the Lorde Treasurer Burleigh.[2]

My Worthie Lorde,

It affordethe me no small joye to hear by Mr. Bellot,[3] whom good fortune did throw in my way at the Bathe,[4] that your gouty disorder was growing to better humour. It is a plague, like the greedy parasite, the better fed the longer guest: but your lordship dothe not invite the stay of such friends by rich wines, or strong spices; yet, like many others, it will come to your door, which shutteth against none.

Your message to me for my budget of wit, is ill-timed. I am very busy, yet very idle; very

[2] Inclosing the monk's hymn to Saunte Satan. See p. 14.

[3] It appears from Bowles's Diary, printed in Peck's Desid. Cur. lib. vi. p. 13, that a Mr. Bellot, probably the same person here mentioned, was steward and one of the executors to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

[4] At the town of Bath.

well, yet very ill; very merry, yet very sad. Busy with my workmen, yet idle myself; I write nought but long bills: well in my body, but sick in my purse: merry to think my house well nigh done, and sad to say 'tis not well nigh paid for. In an old book of my father's I read a merrie verse, which, for lack of my own, I send by Mr. Bellot, to divert your lordshippe; when (as you say) weighty pain and weightier matters will yield to quips and merriment. This verse is called the *Blacke Sauntus*, or monkes hymne to *Saunte Satane*, made when Kynge Henry had spoylede their *synginge*. My father was wont to say, that Kynge Henry was used, in pleasante mood, to sing this verse; and my father (who had his good countenance, and a goodlie office in his courte, and also his goodlie Esther to wife) did sometyme receive the honour of hearing his own songe; for he made the tune which my man Combe hath sent herewith; having been much skilled in musicke, which was pleasing to the King, and which he learnt in the fellowship of good Maister Tallis,[5] when a young man. Bishop Gardener woud

[5] Thomas Tallis, says the learned and liberal Dr. Burney, was one of the greatest musicians, not only of this country but of Europe, during the sixteenth century, in which so

not have liked him the better, had he known he was guilty of such jibes; which, perhaps, he had heard of too.

Our work at the Bathe dothe go on *haud passibus æquis :*—we sometime gallop with good presents, and then as soon stand still, for lack of good spurring; but it seemeth more like a church than it has aforetime, when a man could not pray without danger of having good St. Stephen's death, by the stones tumbling about our ears, and it were vain to pray for such enemies. But now, to pray for our friends may not be ill taken on earth, or in heaven. So may God give your lordship all comfort, ease, and health of body, till he shall *(O dies procul esto !)* receive your soul. If I ever pray'd better for myself, I become a greater sinner by so much of a lie; for I never did, nor ever will. In all dutie, I reste

Your humble well-wisher,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Kelston, 1595.

many able contra-puntists were produced. He was born early in the reign of Hen. VIII. and died in 1585. Gen. Hist. of Music, iii. 71.

A TREATISE ON PLAYE.

By Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Harington.

[*circa* 1597.]

It may seeme strange, among so many grave and waighty matters, to present so idle and tryfling a discowrse as the tytle hereof seemeth to promise; and the wryter may be thowght to have been verry gamesome in his humor, or verry barren of other matter for so doing, if bothe owr chronicles did not shew us a president of a stowt and pollytyck Kynge (I cannot say just and vertuous) that propownded as a serious matter, at a counsell-boord, to have a fitt and well chosen playfellow for his nephew; and if every man's owne experience did not tell him that recreation after study, ease after payne, rest after labor, is very necessary.

Now though I know that holy and wise preachers may say, and say trewly, that as a man may be mery withowt laffing, quell hunger and thirst without surfeting, so hee may refresh his sperites without dyce or card-playing; yet I will not be so severe and stoycall to pronownce that such play is unhonest, ungodly, unlawful,

and by wise princes owght to be banished, not only owt of their howses, but owt of theyr dominions, as an infecter of manners, a spoyler of yowth, a waster of welth, yea, and of that which is not to be redeemed by welth, owr most precious tyme: for, if I shoulde holde a paradox, I shoulde have all our yowng lordes, owr fayr ladyes, owr gallant gentlemen, and the flower of all England against mee; yea, to say truly, I should have myne own fansy and custome, nay even my owne opinion and judgment against mee: because I do think it at the worst, tollerable; for the most part, indifferent; and in some sort, commendable: and therefore, at the first entrawnce hereto, I may shake handes and make trewse[6] with my good frend Mr. Groomporter, and assure him that this discowrse of myne tends no way to his hindrawnce; but rather to establish an honor and order in that, which in wise mens opinions is now both dishonorably and disorderly abused, specially in that house whence the pattern and lyght of all honor and order should come.

I. Fyrst thearfore, I will shew you what the trew use of play is.

[6] Truce.

II. Secondly, I will lay downe breefly what vices it participateth.

III. Thirdly, I will declare my conceyl[7] for a remedy of soche disease, for avoyding all or the moste of the inconveniences that happen by the untemperate and immoderate use of the same.

Play, accordinge to the awncient schoolemen, (who were the narrowest examiners and suttellest distinguyshers of wordes,) is defined to bee, Ludus, *id est, locutus vel operatio in quo nihil quæritur nisi delectatio animalis. A spending of the tyme eyther in speeche or action, whose only end is a delyght of the mynd or speryt.* And therfore they call it also a remedy against the overburthening and dulling of the speryts. It may be derived into three kyndes.

Fyrst, of devotion, of which kynde of recreation, although it bee absolutely the best, I shall have cause to speake but litle.

The second, of unseemly pleasures, provok-

[7] Counsel.

ing to wantonnesse; of which, because it is the worst, I must needes say somewhat.

The third, of all kynde of games devised for pastyme, which they comprehend under the name of *Alearis*[8] and *quasi Alearis;* in which eyther meer hazarde prevayles, as at dyce; or chawnce with some use of witt, as in cardes and tables; or chawnce with some sleyght, strength, and agilitye of the body, as shooting, bowling, tennis, the moste of which being ἀδιάφορα, things indifferent, and both to good and bad uses in all the ages of a man, are consequently the principall grownd and project of this my discowrse.

Of the fyrst and moste excellent play or recreation (that I may not speake without awtorytie) wee finde an example in the holy historyes of David, 2 *Kings*, vi. *cap.* who said, *Ludam et fiam vilior.* Holy virtuous pastymes bee advised in the New Testament, "Singing salmes, and himms, and spiritual songs," as St. James counselleth those that are mery; walking abrod and meditating, as Isake did, like a dove; recording some of the elloquent and excellent soliloquyas of St. Awgustin; or, if they be un-

[8] *Qu.* Aleares? i. e. ludi aleares.

learned, singinge one of David's dyvine salmes well translated into meeter; of which myselfe have heard some profess to have had more pleasure, and theyr mindes more lifted up to devotion, then with all the sollom[9] church musyke of organs and voyces: whether it weare the matter, or the meeter, or the maker, or the musyke, or all together that so ravysht them. Of which excellent worke, I meane those salmes in meeter, seing it is alredy prophecied those precious leaves (those hims that she doth consecrate to Heaven) shall owtlast Wilton walls,[2] meethinke it is pitty they are unpublysh-ed, but lye still inclosed within those walls lyke prisoners, though many have made great suyt for theyr liberty. But of this kinde of playe I need say no more, not doubting but many noble mynded cowrtiers frequent often such vertuous exercyses, and, if they would more often by my perswasyon, I would bee not a little glad of it.

Of the second sorte of play, provoking only and cheefly to wantonnes, (thowgh some more, some lesse,) such have generally been

[9] Solemn.

[2] The Countess of Pembroke's.

esteemed enterludes, tumblers, jesting fooles, and scoffers, masking and dawncing, and such-like, in some of which theare may sure bee such temper, as to make them voyd of sinne; yet commonly theire is such temptation as is not without some shame; thearfore, how so ever the beholders, if they geve not as it weare the brydle too much to loose and wanton desyres, may bee excused, yet the actors for the most parte are esteemed illiberall, base, and ridiculous. One sayd merely[3] that "enterludes weare the divells sarmons, and jesters the divells confessors; thease for the most part disgracing of vertue, and those not a little gracinge of vices." But, for my part, I commend not such sowere censurers, but I thinke in stage-playes may bee much good, in well-penned comedies, and specially tragedies; and I remember, in Cambridge, howsoever the presyser sort have banisht them, the wyser sort did, and still doe mayntayn them.

Trew it is that St. Awgustin doth reprove, and that very justly, the plays of the awncient Romans, such as those that weare called *Bacchanalia;* and not only thease drunken and

[3] i. e. absolutely.

wanton playes, but even their *Circenses* and *Seculares*, becawse thease weare for the moste part full of blasphemows superstition, and even dedycated (as he moste amply prooveth) to the honor of theyr fallse godds, indeed, fowle sperits and meer devylls; but what prejudyce neede that to bee to owr enterludes, which are no way intended to the dishonor of our own trew Lord, nor honor of his enemy. Concerning this matter one wrote a prettye elegye, of wich I remember thease fower fyrst verses:

Non ego qui ludos spectant reor esse nocentes,
Non his omne tamen crimen abesse puto;
Grandior his ætas morum sine vulnere magno,
Forsan adesse potest, sed nisi forte potest.

To see a play I call no haynous cryme,
Yet say not I, all fawlte is absent thence;
Men, stayd in yeares, may see the same sometyme
Perhapps, (and but perhapps) withowt offence.

But now whence comes this offence, but from the ill penning of the plays by the wryters, or by the wanton humor of this tyme, whom no mirth can please if it be not sawced with some bawdery?[4] and the poets care, as sayeth Te-

[4] So Hamlet of Polonius:

"He's for a tale of bawdry, or he sleeps."

rence, is, *Populo ut placerent quas fecissent fabulas.*

Nero, one of the worst emperors, was too much delyghted in musyke, and all kinde of poetry. Will any man conclude thearby, that musycke and poetry is abhominable, becawse that abhominable tyrant loved them? Nerva, one of the best of the good emperors, was much pleased with a buffon or jesting foole that he had; yet it followd not that all that can play the foole are worthy to be favored by emperors; for even that jester was prettely jested at one day by the emperor. For, when the foole, having made him mery, begged somewhat of him and cowld not obtayne it, he asked the Emperor "why he would not geve him greater rewardes, seeing he took suche pleasure in his coweterfaytinge?" "Oh, said hee, if I payd for it, the pleasure were lessened:" meaning, belyke, that haulfe the sport was to see him play the foole for nothinge; and sewr it seems they are not well sorted in theyr state and quallytie, if they be not, as Horace calls me,

Scurra vagus, non qui certum præsepe teneret;
Quælibet in quemvis opprobria fingere sævus.

Like wandring rogues that have no certaine manger,
Prest to rayle and scoffe at every stranger.

But that such kinde of fellowes as thease bee still hawkinge and hanginge about princes cowrtes and noble-mens houses, is a custom so awncient, that it is made lawfull by prescription.

As for the rest of the sportes of this second kinde, being not the cheefe intent of my present treatyse, I passe them over with this general caveatt, eyther for practising or beholding of them, *ne quid nimis.* For, as to be plesawnt conseyted,[5] to be actyve and musicall, are cowrtly and liberall quallyties; so, for noble personages to become jesters, tumblers, and pypers, is hateful, fond,[6] and dishonourable.

III. The third sort of plays, which I calld *Alearis et quasi Aleares,* comprehending in a manner all kinde of games playd at for wagers; beinge one of the moste dawngerows rockes at

[5] A favourite mode of expression in the time of our author. Thus some of Shakspeare's plays were recommended, in their *editiones principes*, as "pleasant conceited histories and comedies."

[6] i. e. foolish.

which the youth of this island suffer voluntary shipwrack, both of fame and fortune, is the speciall kinde of which I wolde now speake. For I have somtyme, considering hereof, wondred at that strange disease of some men in this kinde, who playing at cardes or dyce, with as ill fortune (commonly) as may bee, and with such impacience, that in reason it must exclude all pleasure; that have not had the power to refrayn from it, but have still pursued it eyther to the utter decay of theyr estates, or ellse dryven with a kynde of unnecessary necessytie to descend to so base shifts, as when theyr wyser judgment hath after (by assistance of God's good grace) expelled that foolysh fansey, they themselves have damned and detested, as most ignominious and reproachfull. And therfore, seing so playnely this infection begin to grow so generall, and myselfe havinge so hardly (and perhapps skantfully[7]) escaped it; I thowght it weare an honest and acceptable endevor to fynde some remedy, if I coulde, for the same.

First, thearfore, I did search as phisycions doe, the trew nature of the desease, and owt of what humors it is specially fed; and I fynd

[7] i. e. narrowly, scarcely.

(partly by unpartiall examining mine owne imperfections and follyes, and partly by observing other mens customs) this excessive play to grow from one of these evill affections of the mynde which the awncientes (not unproperly) weare wont to term "dedly sinnes," viz. pryde, covetowsness, and slowth: of which, slowth causeth the frequentation of it; pryde, the greatnes; and avarice, the greedines. And accordingly I direct my advise hereto as good physicions doe medecynes, not quite to take away the humors, but only to restrayne the dangerows overflowing thearof. Not but that I am fully perswaded, that, if I showlde make such an anatomy, as might easely bee done, of the fowlnes of these offences that aryse out of great play; yea, if one of these gamsters myght, with the eye of virtuous judgment, see but one sawser full of the corrupt blood that this pestilent disease hath bred in them, they would suffer themselves not only to be purged, but to bee lawnced, rather then any drop of such blood, or of so dawngerows an humor, should bee remayninge in them; and, as for those that were yet never infected, they would follow the Italians medecyn for the plague:—

Presto procul, tarde cede, recede redi.

Goe away with the fyrst, remove awaye fardest, returne with the last.

But this season sarves not for such kynde of physicke, I will neyther purge, lawnce, nor lett blood; my patientes shall fare delycately, so they will feede moderatly; fynally, they shall never need eyther sweare or swett (though their disease make them often doe both) if they will follow but the prescript that I will geve them; and for theyr more assurance, I have taken it myselfe, and some of my good frends, and thearfore I can say as my Ariosto sayth:—

> Beleeve what heere is shown for thy behoofe,
> *Probatum est*, I know 'tis trew by proofe.

But, that I may yet a while continew this my phisycall metaphor, marke what I shall tell (I speake to all great players) of the origin of youre maladys; and, if you find that I discover aryght your deseases without feeling your pulses, thinke I can as well prescribe a medecyn without casting your waters.

i. Fyrst, thearfore, I say, the cheefe nurse of play is Idleness or Slowth. Not but that play is a kinde of remedy allso against slowth, but yet,

when wee are grown by too much eating and surfeting, to a general indisposycyon to all businesse, then commonly wee embrace play to avoyd sleep. I will leave to the divynes to tell you how dangerous a thinge this fulnes of fleshe is cownted, and what became of them that did "eate and drinke, and rose up agayn to play." Lett us but morally and civilly (as I may say) lay before us an exampell of some one, of which there is too great choyse, that spendes his whole life in play. As thus, for example; in the morninge, perhapps, at chesse, and after his belly is full, then at cardes; and, when his sperites wax dull at that, then for some exercyse of his armes at dyce; and, being weary thearof, for a little motion of his body, to tennis; and having warmd him at that, then, to coole himselfe a little, play at tables;[8] and, being disquieted in his patience for overseeing synk[9] and quater, or missing two or three fowle blottes, then to an enterlude; and so (as one well compared it) lyke to a mill-horse, treddinge alwayes in the same stepps, be ever as far from a worthy and a wise man as the circle is from the center. Would not one swear this were a marvellows idle fellow?

[8] Backgammon.

[9] Cinque.

Sewer idlenes is a thinge not only condemned of all men, and by some law-makers severely punyshed, but even hateful to nature itselfe, and thearfore commonly it is the first suggester of all the fowl and enormows sinns that are committed.

Quæritur Ægistus quare sit factus adulter?
Impromptu ratio est, desidiosus erat.

What made Ægistus first a letcher grow?
Slowth was the cause, as all the world doth know.

It is the broom that sweepeth cleen all good thowghts owte of the howse of the mynde, making it fitt to receave the vii devills, that the manns end may be worse then the beginning. For, as contemplacion rayseth the sowle to the trew love of God and inflameth it with a desyre of virtuows actions, so doth idleness depresse the speryts, engenders a desyre of unworthy thinges, and cooleth or rather quencheth all the sparkes of vertue and honor. Whearfore, not to stand too long uppon this poynt, which wold (yow may see) afford infynit matter; whosoever will not be noted with the fowle infamy of Idlenes, let him not bee a continuall gamster; for, if he play very much, Demosthenes were not able to cleer him if he were sued upon an

action of idlenes. I say very muche: not but that I cownt a little play, as I said in the beginning, both tollerable and also commendable for worthy persons of eyther sex (specially attending in cowrt) to recreate themselves at play; and meethinkes I have observed good use therof. For it is (be it spoken under correction) an unfittinge syght to see a presence-chamber empty more than haulfe the day, and men cannot be allways discowrsing, nor women always pricking in clowts; and therefore, as I say, it is not amisse to play at some sociable game (at which more than ii may play) wherby the attendawnce may seem the lesse tedyous to the players, and the rest that looke on may in a sort intertayn themselves with beholding it, as daylie experience sheweth us. Whearfore, I have been ever against the opinion of some elder sarvitors (that seeme now to be better antiquaryes then cowrtyers) who will mayntayn that till ii of the clocke no gentleman should stand above the cubbard; that to leane in the presence-chamber is unseemly; to sit is unsufferable; that play came not in by lycence, but crept in by licentiowsnes.

These good gentlemen thinke that one of us may boast of the well spending of that day

whearein they have told us how mery a world it was when the King[2] went to Bullen[3]; whereas, thankes be to God and that noble King's most noble Dawghter, wee thinke it as mery still; and to such reprovers I answer, *new lords, new laws*: her Majesties commawndment is suffycient law in her cowrt, and if it please her Hyghnes, she may have it so still, but *sublata causa tollitur effectus; effects remove with their cawses.* Good manners will teach every man when it is unseemly to leane or sitt, and yet the noble nature of Princes is seene in these indulgences of ease (as I may so call them) to theyre servantes and subjects. It hath been a favour (thoughe now not common) to geve a pardon of the cap, viz. to stand coverd. It is a great honor of the Queen's court, that no princes servants fare so well and so orderly, nor have more hollsome provision in all Europe: to be short, the stately pallaces, goodly and many chambers, fayr gallerys, large gardens, sweet walkes, that princes with magnificent cost do make, (the xxth parte of which they use not themselves,) all shew that they desire, and would have all men thinke they desire, the ease, con-

[2] Hen. VIII.

[3] Boulogne.

tent, and pleasure of theyr followers, as well as themselves. Which matter, thowgh it be more proper to another discourse, yet I colde not but towch it in this, agaynst theyr error rather than awsterytie, that say play becomes not the presence, and that it would not as well become the state of the chamber to have easye quilted and lyned forms and stools for the lords and ladyes to sit on, (which fashyon is now taken up in every marchawnts hall,) as great plank forms that two yeomen can scant[4] remove out of their places, and waynscot stooles so hard, that, since great breeches were layd asyde, men can skant indewr[5] to sitt on. But, to end this fyrst part of this tripertyte descowrse, you see how willing I am both to allow play, and all ease in your play, so the cheefe end of play bee that which showld indeed bee the trew use of play; —to recreat the speryts for a short tyme, to enable them better to seryows and wayghty matters.

ii. The second cawse of excesse in play I noted to be Pride; an ill cawse of a worse effect, which because it loves to be gloryows

[4] Scarce.

[5] Endure.

will seldom be seene alone, but attended on with wrath, ryot, and blasphemy; and, (save that custome hath made it so familiar to us that we neither observe it in ourselves nor in others,) we should perceave that this proud humor that is fed by play, makes us ofte sweare more in one howr, then otherwise a man cowld have occasyon to doe in a whole yeer. Now, that you may playnly see it is pryde cheefly that moves men to great play, (specially in cowrte and in publyque assemblies whearsoever,) mark, I say, the greatest and the moste professed great players, if they will not in pryvat mens howses, or in theyr own, (if they have any,) play as small game as need be, whearas to play the same, nay fyve tymes the same stake in other places, they wold cownt themselves disparaged for ever.

It is ever noted that the fowlest vice that is, seekes to put on a maske and shew of some vertue; so this pride in gaming would fayn be taken for a kynde of magnanimytie and bountifull disposycion; and thearfore, as I sayd, the more publicke the place is, the more honorable the presence, the deeper the play groweth; and then, as thowgh two shillinge and sixe pence had not as many sillabells in it as one hundred pownds, you shall heere them still

talkinge of hunderdes and thowsands. And whearfore is all this, forsooth?—because the beholders may extoll theyr brave myndes, and saye one to another, "Did yow ever see gentlemen that cared so little for theyr money, so brave, so bountifull, etc." and perhaps even herein they are deceaved, and that insteed heereof, some of the standers by tell how they heard, but 3 dayes past, a mercer importuning some one of them for 10*l.* matter, and colde get no other answer but—"God damme me, if I pay you not the next mony I receave:" and another had a poore widdow following of him, sewing[6] to buy a copy-holde in which shee had a widdows estate, and offerede in a yeare to pay fyftie pownd; and he protested "hee had such present need of mony hee could not stay so longe," and solde it to another for 30*l.* in hand: and a thirde, perhapps, was hard chaffing with the baylie of his husbandry for gevinge viii*d.* a day this deere [7]yeer to day laborers,

[6] Suing.

[7] *Qu.* 1595 or 7? Archbishop Whitgift speaks of the great dearth of corn and victuals, in a letter to Dr. Chaderton, dated May, 1595, printed by Peck; and Dr. Abbot, in his sermon at the funeral of the Earl of Dorset, specifies the year 1597, as a time of extraordinary scarcity.

saying, "hee myght have had them for viid." Loe the bownty of these magnificall[8] players! to omit how basely some of these big men will borrow, how beggerly they will shifte, when they will seem most bowntyfully to spend. Such skornfull and myserable streyghts they are dryven unto, that skorn to use a measurable proporcion in theyr play, according to theyr state and callinges.

Neyther would I conclude heerof, that great princes or nobles should play for so little as were not worth the reckoninge of, for I know the saying, *sine quæstu friget lusus; small stake makes colde play.* And thearfor, thoughe it be hard to prescribe a mean and rule of a thing so subject to extremityes in so divers callinges and abillityes of the players, yet I wolde delyver this as my opinion, and advise hearein in generall:—that the wager in play should bee as it were sawce, and not the substance of it; so as a man should take at least equal contentment for winninge the game as the mony, and be less greeved for loosing the mony then the game; that a man shold venter no more to play then he cowld bee easily per-

[8] i. e. ostentatious.

swaded to geve out of his superfluytie to some well deserving person that wear in want; that if the quallitye of the persons be so different (as ofte it happens) that 10 shillings losse to one were more than 10*l.* losse to an other; then the greater persons showld rather stoop somewhat below theyr custome, than the meaner man showld step somewhat above his calling: For sewer I am, if one of the extreams must be fallen into, the little play has the lesse dawnger of fame, of fortune, of fault, than the greater. Besyde, if the greater persons in matter of game showld not sorte themselves to the meaner, how showld princes in their dominions fynde playfellows? For, if her Majestie would play at primero in that proportion of her estate as I have seen some of her mean subjects in theyr poor callinges, she should play a dukedom at a rest, and a barrony stake, and then I know none able to hold play with her: but, if her Highnes can vowtsafe to play somtyme with her servantes, according to theyr meaner abillities, I know not why we her servantes showld skorne to play with our equalls or inferyors for competent wagers, as the losse may not be burdensome to them. And yet, not to neglect the honorable shew of the place, I woulde wysh that greater persons showlde, according to

theyr callinges, play on a velvet carpet, handle nothing but golde, talke of nothing but pownds, and yet to venter no more than they may with theyr honors trewly pay, and with theyr ease willingly spare.

As for the standers by, (who need not know whether every ryall passes current for 10*s.* or for 10*d.*) theyr eyes are as well entertayned and theyr thowghts as well pleased, as if so moche golde were truly wonne and lost, of which myselfe have seen doble experyence. For example; whear lords and great men have been disposed to play deepe play, and not havinge mony about them, have cut cardes insteede of cownters, with assewrawnce (on theyr honors,) to pay for every peece of carde so lost, a portegue[9]; (a thinge as some say common in Spayn, and somtyme done in this cowrt,) I have observed that the beholders have taken small pleasure in beholding this play, though hundreds were really and indeed lost thereat. And even now this other day, when *crastino animarum* was sollomly appointed for the payment of many matches wonne and lost at bowls, the country peeple, that saw no mony walking,

[9] A gold coin, value 3*l* 10*s* 0*d*.

helde themselves deluded, and thought they playd but xiii *d.* up xii *d.* thoughe I doubt some of theyr friends feele a greater rate for it ere long. And of the other side I have observed, when some of the better sort have by my perswasyon (for putting in practyse this counterfet gaming) playd good store of golde and silver, rating it for the present at the 10th or 12th peny, so as above a noble or a ryall[a] was not in common account to be lost at a sittinge; yet the vulgar beholders did holde it for the noblest and royalest play they had seen; only marvelling to see such sober gentlemen play so much in an howr as they wear not used to spend in a weeke. Now, if the irreverent doctor Fawstus, or some such grave patron of great play, showld protest this to bee an intollerable cosenage and dishonorable abuse of the beholders, and with some Chester-like elloquens, deride the weaknes of the conceyt:—I answer him, that I no way compare with his rare and well studyed invencions of stopps, of cutts, of points, of marks, of slipps, of lays, of setts, of odds in betting, of slurrs, of hy-men and low-men, of familiars, and suchlyke; which I

[a] The rial and noble were each of fifteen shillings value, in the reign of Elizabeth. See Leake's Hist. Acc. of Eng. Money.

am haulfe ashamed to name, becawse it shews I am not so ignorant of them as I owght to bee: all which cunning, if great play were suppressed in owr common ordenaryes, wold bee as meerly left and forgotten (thoughe it be now studyed and practysed as an excellent misterie and scyence) as Demetryus' occupacion of making silver shrynes for Dyana was hindred by the apostles preaching of Chryste. But I say in defence of this honest or at least harmles dissimulacion, in making the play seeme greater then it is, that thear is almost no parte of owr lyfe in which wee doe not generally affecte and effect more dawngerows practyses of dissimulacion in matters of ernest and wayght than this that I bring in, in matter only of sport and game. Wee goe brave[3] in apparell that wee may be taken for better men than wee bee; wee use much bumbastings and quiltings to seeme better formed, better showlderd, smaller wasted, and fuller thyght, then wee are; wee barbe and shave ofte, to seeme yownger than wee are; we use perfumes both inward and outward, to seeme sweeter then wee be; corkt shooes to seeme taller then wee bee; wee use cowrtuows salutations to seem kinder then wee bee; lowly obaysances to seeme humbler then we bee; and

[3] i. e. costly.

somtyme grave and godly communication, to seem wyser or devowter then wee bee. And infynit such thinges wee may observe in ourselves, which are some of them commendable in this respect, that, by good and trew endevour to seeme to bee, we may obtayne at last the habyt and grace to become to bee such indeed, according to the excellent cownsell, *Labour to bee as you would bee thought.* Wherfore, if we allow in so many thinges seeming withowt beinge, why showld wee not bee content, in this one thing, to be lesse bowntifull, or, (to term it ryghtly,) lesse prodigall, lesse wastefull, lesse madde, then wee seeme to be.

But, because examples are more effectual often then perswasyons, and to prayse the dead is no flattery, I will alleadge one example, well known to many of us, and thearfore not unfit for this purpose. Who was more magnificent in matters of trew honor, more sumptuows in buildinge, ritch in furnishinge, royall in entertayninge, orderly in maintayninge his howse then Sir Christofer Hatton, late Lord Chawncellor? a man taught vyrtue, framed to wisdom, raysed to honor, by her Majesties speciall grace and choyce; yet when some embassadors lay at his howse, (knowinge the generall humor of the

meaner sort to love to see great play) whyle hee himselfe entertayned the cheefest of them with some grave discourse or some sollom musycke, hee cawsed some of his freends to play at cardes with 1000*l.* in fayr golde of his mony, ratinge it at theyr owne pleasures at xii *d.* the pownd, or as themselves agreed on, that the summes playd might seem great, the show bountifull, and the substance not unsupportable. Thus you see that, if men will needes have a pryde in a thinge whearof they may rather be ashamed, yet in this manner of play I recommend to you, both the idle man may have his pastyme, and the prowd man his pompe.

Now remaynes only how we may allay the covetouse humor of play, for satisfye it we never can, being the verry dropsye of the minde, whose thirst encreaseth with drinking; a wolfe whose famine abates not with raveing; a sea that augmenteth not his waters with fillinge. Is thear any hope to asswage the fury of this desease in a gamster? Horace sayth, thear is in any man:

Fervet avaritia, miseroque cupidine pectus?
Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere causam.[3]

[4] *Partem.* Horat. a Maittaire.

Boyleth thy brest with lucre's base desire?
Preceptes are found to quench this filthy fire,
And forse this maladye from thee retyre.

It hath been sayd, 'one strong poyson will expell another;' which made me to perswade myselfe that the pryde men have in play myght have been a suffycient restraynt of this base humor of cosenage, specially in a cowrtier; for I remember that hee that wrytes the most exact rules for a worthy cowrtier to follow, concerninge thease kynde of games, geveth thease speciall rules; 1. That a gentleman labor not to bee too cunning at any of them, though the game savor of witt, as chess and the lyke. 2. That his play never breed any unseemly or untemperat passions, but above all that it bee voyd of deceyt and advantage. O! then, that gentlemen would bee so prowd to disdayn thease base-mynded shifts and cosenages, and to skorne that gayne that is got with a packe of cardes and dyce.

The awncyent Romans, as appeares by theyr own historys, were exceeding ambicious, but yet, (as St. Awgustin excellent well noteth) that ambition brydled in them many greater and more enormows vyces; for the pryde of theyr conceyt was such as made them dispyse pleasures,

ritches, case, or whatsoever they thought myght demenish theyre reputation with the people, or make them the lesse or the worse spoken of. But, how farr otherwise it is with the pryde of great play, I partly noted before. It beginns with wantoness and ryot, continews in cursing and blasphemy, and ends commonly in quarrel and cosenage, which how unworthy it is of a noble and vertuows sperit, any, that have read Tullyes Offices, maye imagin. For thear it is sayd, *Fraus vulpeculæ, vis leonis, utrumque alienissimum ab homine, sed fraus odio digna majore; Frawd is fox-lyke, force is lyon-lyke, both for a man moste unseemely, but frawd of the two more hatefull.* I will not here spend muche tyme to awnswer some poore apollogyes that some weake witts have devysed, beguiling themselves whyle they would fain proove it lawfull to beguile others. But this I am most assured and can proove it by most evydent reasons, that to use cosenage at play is a thinge unnaturall, unlawfull, and, for the most part, to the party that useth it, unproffytable. For whether play were fyrst devysed as a sociable passing the tyme to recreate the speryts, or else (as some will have it) to beguile hunger in a time of great famine; for I will not discredyt

that same hungery history, havinge myselfe seen some, for eagernes to play, forbear eating, drinking, and sleepinge, and other necessities of nature, a very long time. What can, I say, be more against the nature, institution, and use thearof, then to turn kyndnes to unkyndnes, myrth to melancholy, pleasure to pain; fynally, the recreation of over-studyed sperites to a most busy study of cosenage.

For, to omit theyr brabblyngs and blasphemyes, (which would to God they coulde be omitted!) is it a small tyme, thinke yow, that one of these cunninge gamsters spendes in practysinge to slurre a dye sewerly, to stop a carde cleanly, to lay a packe cunningly? I have herd some (and those no novyses in these misteryes) affyrme, that the devyser of the sett at the new cutt, (that did cut so many ere the edge was fully discovered,) coulde not spend so little as a moneths earnest study, beatinge his brayns ere hee could contryve it,—if it colde be donne withowt help of the devell, for, indeed, whom the devill should the devill assyst, but soch as labor and study night and day in his service? Whearfore let them not call it theyr play, but theyr labor, theyr trade, theyr occupacion, that play only for gayne; for greedines

breeds earnestnes, and earnestness overthrows quite the very nature of all game:

Lusuri nuces animos quoque ponere debent,
Lusori cupido semper gravis exitus instat;
Pone malas quoties ludendo vinceris iras,
Nemo potest semper fælici ludere dextra.

Lay down your stake at play, lay down your passions;
A greedy gamster still hath some mishap;
To chafe for loss proceeds of foolish fashions,
No man throws still the dice in Fortune's lapp.

These olde verses (patched by me together owt of I know not what olde wryters,) are sufficient testimony to proove, what temper the wyser have tawght in tymes past, and what folly the foolyshe have committed at all tymes, concerning gaming; by which it appears moste playnly, that not only to use deceit in play, but, (which is far lesse) to make gayne the end of your play, quite perverteth the ryght use, quallity, and nature thearof.

Now that it is unlawfull is soone prooved, by the common law, by the civill law, by God's law. By the common and civill law the phrase in bothe is to call cardes and dyce unlawfull

games, yea thoughe playd at without cosenage; and by the cyvill law money wonne of a warde or of a sarvant myght have been recovered . . . yeers after as appears in the digest; though I am not ignorant that some cyvillians oppose against such a recovery this maxim, *In pari causa turpitudinis melior est conditio possidentis; where both partyes have like turpitude or dishonesty, the law favors the party in possessyon.* But admyt it be so for fayr play, (thoughe in my poore opinion that worde turpitude hath relation not to the play used in dycing-howses, but in bawdy-howses,) yet for cosenage I hold it undowbtedly that mony so wonne, if it may be prooved, (for in law *quod non probatur non est, nothing is withowt proofe,)* may be recoverd of the keeper of the dycing-house, by the civil law, and by action of cosenage or conspiracy, at the common law. Neither doth the former maxim make aught agaynst it, becawse the dishonesty is not equal, but all in the deceaver. But now, for God's law, I must confess I finde no commandement that says, " Thow shalt not play:"—neyther in presise wordes, neyther yet by implication; and therfore I sayde at the first, it is in itselfe a thinge indifferent, other than as it is restrayned eyther by cannons of the church, (of which ma-

ny are still in force in this realme) or by other posytive lawes, soch as eatinge fysh in Lent, wearing soch or soch apparell, which our devynes hold to bynd a chrystan in conscyence, being not dyrectly agaynst the word of God. But, (I say) bee it that play by skrypture is a thinge indifferent, (for sewr I am my ghostly father never barred it me, neyther by precept nor exawmple,) what excuse is this for cosenage in play, that breaks at least halfe the commawndments of the old and new law? The new law saith, "Love God above all, love thy neyghbor as thyselfe." How well this gentleman loves his neyghbor that lays bayts and hookes to catch his mony from him, every man may see. But I hope for all this hee may love God better; I will beleeve it if hee can awnswer this question of St. John, "How can one love God whome hee hath not seen, that loves not his brother whome hee hath seen?" But some will say, this is a law of a secret and rare perfection. The ten commawndments are playne and open; doth the cunning gamster keepe them? "Thou shall not *covet*;" is the last and least of them: lett him be pardoned for breaking that. But if hee bee (as St. Pawle calls it) an idollater with his covetowsnes, if hee swear and forswear, breake sabbaths, dishonor parents and

magistrates, murther with mallys,[5] steale from all hee plays with, (for it is worse then theft,) witnes falshood with others, (all which all the world sees that the coseninge gamsters daylie do,) then it is too playn that they breake nyne of the commawndments; and (if hee bee not an eunuche) I dare be sworn that hee that breakes nyne of them doth keep none of them.

Now lett them devyse what defences they can for this theyr cosenage, let them excuse it as a *pecca*, and say it is no robbery, becawse the party brings it to venter it, (for so taylors deny theyr stealinge, by saying the stuffe is browght them,) yet I thinke, if these seeke theyr stolen stuffe in hell, those will finde theyrs in hell also. For where law allows a recovery, and conscyence byndes to restitucion, how can the gayne bee any waye lawfull?

Men are not passinge good nor passinge ill of a sudden, or all at once; but, as the good grow from fayth to fayth, so the lewd fall from filth to filth. At the fyrst a man makes some skruple, and when he hath geven himselfe leave to play false for a little, at last he taketh not only

[5] Malice.

leave but pleasure; yea, sometyme a pryde to do it for more then a great deale. Wherfore, as Ovid sayth,

Obsta principiis; sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

Stop the first breaches; med'cine will not boot
When, by delay, deseases take deep root.

But yet to remember my purpose and promise in the beginning, which was that I wold not quite purge any humor, but only allay it a little; so I will still yeelde to leave so moch of this covetows humor in play as may serve for a sawce, (as I sayd) yea, and a hungry sawce, soch as may move sufficient appetyte, but withall I wish you to beware of a surfitte. Neyther need I herein to geve any other rules, but to refer you to those former advices that I gave, in waying[6] the dyvers callings and qualyties of men.

Thear is a great shew of popularytie in playing small game, as wee have heard of one that shall be nameless, (becawse he was not blameles) that with shootynge seaven up groates among

[6] Weighing.

yeamen, and goinge in playne apparell, had stolen so many hartes, (for I dare not say hee came trewly by them,) that hee was accused of more then fellony. But my noble godfather, William Erle of Pembrooke, shall not bee nameles, who (as I have heard a speciall sarvant neer abowt him tell) loste two thowsand pownde in one night (imitating Augustus Cæsars' play, thowgh I will be sworen for him he never read his life) still geving away all he wonn, and paying all hee lost; and it is possible (for so said his sarvant to mee) that, by this his ill luck at play, hee saved as much as the man before ment, thowghe not mentioned, did lose.

Thus I have named, or at least signified, an exawmple of small game without basenes, of great play withowt folly, now I will add only two not unpleasawnt tales; one of a witty deceyt, not dishonest; another of a willing losse, not undiscreet. Pope Julio (if I fail not in the name, and sewr I am that their is a game of the cardes after his name[7]) was a greate and wary player, a greate vertue in a man of his professyon; but being a goode companyon, and

[7] Now called *Pope Joan*.

as the phrase is, as mery as Pope Joane; it is sayd hee playd at primero with some great princes or cardinalls that use to be popes play-fellows, and, after the play was grown warm and the restes great, it happened that two of them were incowntered five and fiftye; moch mony being sett upp, and moch more to sett, the pope being the younger 55, thowgh it weare the greatest game of the cardes, yet smelling the ratt, for they be all *nasuti*[3], and mistrusting, as it was indeed, that theare was an elder game on the boord, gave it over, swearing, if hee had been but one more, he wold have seene it; the other supposinge, as the speech intended, that hee had been at the most but fower and fiftie, allowed him the one more, and by judgment of the groom-porters there, lost it. Heer was a kind of frawd, but not so full of fawlt as of witte, and the persons being soch with whome 5000 crownes is but a rewarde to a cortesan for a night's lodging, it cannot in them seeme covetousness or cosenage. Well you may call it a stratagem of witt at the cards, as they terme stratagems of war in a campe; for thowghe a Heathen Prince could say,

[3] Good nosers.

Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus vtrique,
Vos ne velit vel me regnare hora quidve ferat fors.

Try wee, with glittering blade, not glistening gold,
Which of us two the highest seat shall hold

Yet now his Hollyness and his cheef Catholic sonnes can say,

Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

Be it virtue, be it frawd,
Against a foe it merits lawd.

O Chrystians! if you will not learn fayr warrs, and fayr play, and honesty from Heaven, learn it from the Heathen; and, if humility cannot teache yow to shunne some gloriows sinnes, lett pride move yow to shame of so base sinns.

The other tale I wold tell of a willinge and wise loss I have hearde dyversly tolde. Some tell it of Kyng Philip, and a favoryte of his; some of our worthy King Henry viii. and Domingo[9]; and I may call it a tale, becawse perhappes it is but a tale, but thus they tell it:— The kinge, 55 eldest hand, set up all restes, and discarded flush; Domingo or Dundego, (call

[9] *Qu.* Jester to the King? Monsieur Domingo is the subject of an epigram in "Humors Ordinarie," 1607.

him how you will,) helde it upon 49, or som such game; when all restes were up and they had discarded, the Kinge threw his 55 on the boord open, with great lafter, supposing the game (as it was) in a manner sewer. Domingo was at his last carde incownterd flush, as the standers by saw, and tolde the daye after; but seeing the Kinge so mery, would not for a rest at primero, put him owt of that pleasawnt conceyt, and put up his cardes quietly, yeelding it lost. What shall we say, for it is disputable? Was it well or ill done? We must say as is oft sayd, "it was as it was taken;" and they say it was well taken. But I say, if the favoryte did it with a cleere mynde, as I may say *candide*, to encrease and preserve his master's pleasure, it was a worthy and a kinde parte; but if the fox had read the fable of the beastes hunting with the lyon, how the pray there is wont to be devyded, then it was a wrong to the Kyng, and a crafty fox-like parte; and for my parte, if my man should doe soe to me, I would think he mistrusted my pacience: and I remember, fower yeers since, a verry neer kinsman of myne, becawse I lost a game at chesse somwhat too patiently unto him, whearby he mistrusted, as it was indeed, that I lost it voluntary, vowed hee wold never play with

me at chesse agayne, thowgh hee love the game, and wee meet often; neyther can I hyer him, with the best horse I have, to dispence with this foolysh vow.

But to draw to an end, for I fynd in this idle discowrse I am apt to fall into many idell digressyons, I will now only show that the masters of this so seldom thryve by it, as if it were that alone it were enoughe to make them geve it over; and then, for my conclusion, I will sett down breefly the good uses may be made of this cownterfet great play.

Wee judge ordinarily those trades the best at which eyther some thryve exceedingly, or many thryve reasonably; and those the worst, at which many breake bankrowtes, and none wax wellthy. By this rule, a cosenynge gamster of all others showld have a bad occupacyon; for, to omit his losse of Heaven, which perhappes he never thinks of; sewr I am, following that cowrse hee can never hope of. For if a customer[1] cowld not be a discyple till hee fyrst left his receyt of custome, moche less can a cosener be a trew Chrystian till he leave his deceyt in

[1] One who invites custom.

cosenage. But I say, (omitting that great losse that will make them eternal bankarowtes,) lett them show mee but an exawmple among a million that ever rose by play. I have heard of many ritch merchawnts and goldsmiths in Cheap, some came owt of worshipfull howses to comme after them; who hath not heard of the hosyer whome Deane Nowell, that goode old father, was administrator unto; of a rich shoomaker in Westminster; of hunderds I need not name, that by thease honest painful trades, (how fondly soever some skorn them,) came to greate welthe and substance? But what speake I of honest trades; courtesans have become ritche, and after have been convertytes[3] and remayned honest. Pyrates by sea, robbers by land, have become honest substanciall men as wee call them, and purchasers of more lawfull purchase. But a cosener in a dycing-howse that shall thryve by his occupacion, and live well with that hee hath got so ill, is as rare as a blacke swanne, and no exawmple to be showed of it in memory or history. Whearfore a dycing-howse may not unfitly be lykened to a barrene unholsome iland standing in a tempestuows sea, (lyke to some of those of the West Indyas) wheare no sustenance

[3] i. e. converts, or reformed persons.

colde bee had, nor no man wold lyve, save for the shipwracke happening thearabout, which helpes them (thowgh uncertenly, and not over abundantly,) to so much as mayntaynes lyfe and sowle. In suche sort, with the ruyn of infinit young gentlemen, the dycing-box mayntains a hungery famylee.

Now for the cunning gamsters, who cannot often meet with a good market, but some tymes, when some good gulle comes owt of the country, and knowes not how to grace himselfe in company but with play and good clothes; then doe those gallantes draw a good hand or two, but for the most parte they spend more than they gett, for thowgh to a good use yow shall seldome see them geve, yet are they (for all that) exceeding prodigall in expence, specially on theyr back, and theyr belly, and beneath the belly, I meane in theyr fyne silke stockinges and Spanysh leather shoos, French garters, and moche Frenche besides; the procuringe whearof somtyme, and somtyme the curinge, and after, the recuringe, is exceeding chargeable; all which charges are not easily borne. Beside theare is now so many of that association, as much hinders the gayne of the fathers of that facultye: but if they gett nothing, as most at

home here bee eyther so wyse with theyr deer-bought witt, as they will play no more, or so poore with theyr now-felt folley, as they can play no more, so as now theyr cheefe hope is for owr yownge captaynes to come ritch from the Indyas; but, if they gett, I say, no good bootyes, yet they must stick to it, and live by it, as the olde wall standes by the helpe of that ivey that was the first cawse of rottinge and undercreepinge the fowndacion thearof. So that I may boldly conclude, that thowgh theare will ever be some fooles to be cosened, yet as longe as there is soch store of knaves that would cosen them, they will grow every day poor by this beggerly occupation; and God send me quickly fatherless sonne, if I had not rather one of my sonnes were a tanker-bearer,[4] that weares sometymes his silke sleeves at the church on Sonday, then a cosener that weares his satten hose at an ordenary on Fridaie.

But now I come to the last parte of this discowrse, and will shew some good uses of this kynde of counterfayt play, which, by reasons, by exhortations, by simmilytudes, and by exawmple, I doe soe ernestly labor to perswade.

[4] Tankard-bearer, a waiter. See Whalley's Ben Jonson.

1. Fyrst, therfore, I say, for those that have been used to great play, and thearfore can take the lesse pleasure in small game; of the sudden, they shall with this fashion play, lesse offend theyr fancye, and lesse alter theyr custome, then suddenly to fall from powndes to shillinges; as wee see a chylde weaned from his teat by litle and litle, somtyme with a sucking botle, somtyme with making bitter the nurses nipples, then with other spoone meate, till at last hee makes no reckoninge of childish milke, but falls to feed on more manly meat. Why should not a man bee as well content to weane himselfe from unproffyttable and unmanly customes? I have heard of one hath been so sick of mallencholly, that he hath thowght his head, or I think it was his nose, did fill all the chamber,[5] (for many mens heads fill greater rooms than they are aware of). Now this man cowld not be cured by any reason to proove it was not lyke to be so, nor by demonstracion to proove it was unpossible to bee so, nor by sense to feele it was not so; but a far different means

[5] Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," has recited a no less risible instance of hypochondriacal affection, in a baker of Ferrara, who thought he was composed of butter, and durst not sit in the sun, or come near a fire, for fear of being melted. p. 248, Edit. 1620.

was used to cure him, by perswadinge him it *was* so, and feedinge awhile that strange humor of his so longe, till the same humor and the same weakness that fyrst moved that imaginary malady, made him capable of that imaginary cure: for the physicion, coming into the patient's chamber, at his very entry fownd fawlte that he could not come to the beddes syde for the greatness of the nose that filled all the chamber; "yea, marry," sayd his pacient, "it is too trew; how should it bee remedyed?" Why, sayd he, it must bee cutt till it bee less, and then bee seared; and, presently calling for a hatchet, hee layd about him upon the stools and formes, and, having conveyed great gobbets of flesh into the chamber, bare him in hand they were cutt from that superfluous nose; at last, when hee came with his hott iron to seare it, lest it should bleed too much, the mallencolly man no sooner felt a little singinge of the hott iron, but hee fownd his nose restored to verry good proportion; so ended his mallencolly. But alass! they are sicke of a woorse mallencholly, that thinke eyther great play pleasawnt, or false play lawfull; and, thowgh they bee not easely cured, yet my medecyn is as fitt and lyke to cure them as that I last recyted.

2. A second good use of this cownterfet play is, that if men were bownd indeed strictly to use it, (as for example, by her Majestie's commawndment in her howse, or soch-lyke,) it would quyckly take away, by one reason, bothe the greatness and greediness in play, which I noted as two of the cheefest ills that play is subject unto; and by such a means did Lycurgus banish usury and all kind of covetowsness owt of his cowntry. For hee finding the cawse why men hoorded up gold and silver was only becawse a little purse full of that would buy so many kynde of necessaryes both for use and pleasure; I say, hee presently made such an imbasement of money in so extreame a degree, as all the currant mony was only of iron, and that tempered in vinegar, to make it good for no other use; whearby it soone came to pass that no forren nation browght them any newfangled toyes, to carry away theyr mony, nor no man covyted to have great store of it, when it could not be kept secret, and if one would buy moch, hee must have browght fower or five sumpters[6] loden with that coyn to buy what four or five soveraygns[7] heer wold pay for. Now,

[6] Horses employed to carry necessaries for a journey.

[7] The sovereign was a gold coin, value twenty shillings.

if I doe not much mistake it, this practys of play I perswade, hathe moche affinity with that law of Lycurgus; for if, duringe the tyme of play only, angells[8] were imbased to shillinges, or shillinges to pence, it would bee such a cumber to play deepe play, that none would indure it. If a man would have x*l.* in his reste, he must have 100*l.* sterling; if he wonne fyve pownd at a cast at dyce, he must tell over fyftye, which were a paine rather then a pleasure.

3. Thirdly, a kynde of commodytie, thowgh I cownt it but a small one, were this, that by usinge this play a man showld play far more franckly and leese impatiently, when hee showld play for so much mony indeed: as the Italyan that emboldened himselfe so, by using to stabbe a duke's picture, that in the end hee stabbed the duke himselfe. And methinke it so far unfit tinge for a gentleman to chafe at his ill luck, as many will doe, (whereas it is indeed the loss of the mony, and not the game that makes them so cholleryke,) that sometymes I blush in theyr behalfe, that (specially in the presence) will beate theyr fystes on the boord, flinge the cardes under table, which in smaller game you

[8] The angel was a gold coin of ten shillings value.

shall never see them offer, and therfore to such specially I commend this play, as most fitt for them; whearin perhapps many will fynd theyr humor so well fitted, that they will bee content never to proove the greater play, but please themselves with this, which is gentlemanly for shew, little for loss, and pleasant for company and recreation.

Mr. Fenton to John Harington, Esq. at Bathe. 1597.

Most respectede Friende,

It seemethe marvellous that our gracious Queene hathe so muche annoyance from her most bounden servaunts; I verily think her Highnesse cannot demande what is not due from any of her subjects. Her owne love hathe so wrote[9] on us all, that the hearte muste be evil that dothe pay her its small dutie so grudgingly as some have done of late. I have not seene her Highnesse, save twice, since Easter last, bothe of which times she spake vehe-

[9] Wrought.

mentlye and with great wrathe of her servante, the Ladie Marie Howarde, forasmuche as she had refused to bear her mantle at the hour her Highnesse is wontede to air in the garden, and on small rebuke did vent suche unseemlie answer as did breede much choler in her mistresse. Again, on other occasion, she was not ready to carry the cup of grace during the dinner in the privie-chamber, nor was she attending at the hour of her Majesties going to prayer. All whiche dothe now so disquiet her Highnesse, that she swore she would no more shew her any countenance, but out with all such ungracious flouting wenches; because, forsoothe, she hathe much favour and marks of love from the younge earl, which is not so pleasing to the Queene, who dothe still muche exhort all her women to remaine in virgin state as muche as may be. I adventured to say, as far as discretion did go, in defence of our friende; and did urge muche in behalfe of youthe and enticinge love, which did often abate of righte measures in faire ladies; and moreover related whatever might appease the Queene, touchinge the confession of her great kindness to her sister Jane before her marriage; all which did nothinge soothe her Highnesse anger, saying, "I have made her my servante, and she will now make herself my mis-

tresse; but in good faith, William, she shall not, and so tell her." In short, pitie doth move me to save this ladie, and woud beg such suit to the Queene from you and your friendes, as may winn her favour to spare her on future amendmente. If you coud speak to Mr. Bellot to urge the Lord Treasurer[8] on this matter, it might be to goode purpose, when a better time dothe offer to move the Queene than I had; for wordes then were to no availe, tho as discreetlie brought as I was able. It might not be amisse to talke to this poor younge ladie to be more dutiful, and not absent at meals or prayers; to bear her Highnesse mantle and other furniture, even more than all the reste of the servantes; to make ample amends by future diligence; and always to go first in the morninge to her Highnesse chamber, forasmuche as suche kindnesse will muche prevail to turne awaie all former displeasure. She must not entertaine my lorde the earle, in any conversation, but shunne his companye; and moreover be less carefull in attiringe her own person, for this seemethe as done more to win the earl, than her mistresse good will.

[8] Lord Burleigh, to whom Mr. Bellot probably was a retainer. Vid. supra, p. 183.

Suche, and other advice, as you and other friendes are more able to give on these matters, may prevent all other extreme proceedinge, especiallye if it be urged by my Lorde Treasurer, in assurance of her good behaviour. If we consider the favours shewed her familie, there is ground for ill humour in the Queen, who dothe not now beare with such composed spirit as she was wont; but, since the Irish affairs, seemethe more froward than commonlie she used to bear herself toward her women, nor dothe she holde them in discourse with such familiar matter, but often chides for small neglects; in such wise, as to make these fair maids often cry and bewail in piteous sort, as I am tolde by my sister Elizabeth.

Pray observe secresy in discovering my good will, when you speake to Mr. Bellot, or write to the Lorde Treasurer; as it is not safe to bee too meddling in such matters. Commende me to your Ladye Mall, not forgetting her brothers and childerne. And now in all love I hie to mine office and dutie, remaining

Your Servante,

May 23, 1597. W. Fenton.

John Harington, Esq. to Sir Hugh Portman, Knight.[9]

My good Friend,

[*May or June*] 1598.

I HAVE been to visit at the house which my Lord Treasurer[2] dothe occupy at the Bathe, and found him and another cripple together, my cosen Sir John Harington, of Exton; when it greeved me to see so much discretion, wisdom, and learning in peril of death. My lord doth seem dead on one side, and my cosen on the other, though both in their health were ever *on one side.* It gave me some comfort to hear their religious discourse, and how each did despise his own malady and hold death in derision, because both did not despair of life eternal.

[9] "Of Orchard, in the county of Somerset; a good housekeeper, a builder, and a substantial freeholder."

Harington's Apologie.

Sir John has two epigrams addressed to him, lib. i. 31—ii. 97. The latter begins—"At your rich *Orchard*"—alluding to his country seat.

[2] Lord Burleigh: who died Aug. 4, 1598.

The Treasurer asked me if I had any ailment, and smiled to see me look gravely at their serious talk. I wished them all benefit, and that the waters might wash away all their deadness, save that to iniquity, which would still hold them both unto death. My cosen said, "you are not dead to good works, for even now this churche doth witness of your labour to restore it to its ancient beauty." In good sooth, we want good men who build unto the Lord to forward this work; and many indeed have passed assurance of such helpe. Her Highness doth much lament her good servants malady; my Lady Arundel came with earnest suit from court, touching the treasurer's state, and did bring an excellent cordial for his stomach, which the Queene did give her in charge; and said, "that she did intreat heav'n daily for his longer life:—else would her people, nay herself, stand in need of cordials too." If I may venture thus much, it seemeth as though this good man had little else to do on earth than die.

I have not got what you do so much covet from me, nor can I hitherto obtain an audience from the bishop on such account; but you shall hear further in good time, as my own business doth yet stand unmoved, and giveth me matter

of disquiet. The Lord Treasurer's distemper doth marvelously trouble the Queen, who saith, "that her comfort hath been in her people's happiness, and their happiness in his discretion:" neither can we find, in ancient record, such wisdom in a Prince to discern a servant's ability, nor such integrity to reward and honour a Prince's choice—*Quando ullum inveniat parem?* I reste in good hope of seeing your lady, and such branches of olive as may adorn your table, before Christmas next; and may they bring you more peace than the branches which adorn your neighbour Hatton's[3] brows; but—*levius sit patientia, et conjugem corrigere est nefas.*

JOHN HARINGTON.

What other news doth happen I will bear with me at my coming.

[3] *Qu.* whether this may allude to Sir Henry Coke, the second husband of Lady Hatton? who is introduced, in Winwood's Memorials, as refusing "to let her Mr. Attorney lye either with her, or within her chamber, till he have performed all covenants made to her at her marriage." vol. ii. p. 40.

Mr. Robert Markham[4] to John Harington, Esq. 1598-9.

NOTWITHSTANDINGE the perilous state of our times, I shall not faile to give you such intelligence and advices of our matters here, as may tende to your use and benefite. We have gotten goode accounte of some matters, and as I shall finde some safe conduct for bearinge them to you, it may from time to time happen that I sende tydings of our courtly concerns. Since your departure from hence, you have been spoke of, and with no ill will, both by the nobles and the Queene herself. Your book[5] is almoste forgiven, and I may say forgotten; but not for its lacke of wit or satyr. Those whome you feared moste are now bosoming themselves in the Queene's grace; and tho' her Highnesse

[4] In an "Apologie" for his Metamorphosed Ajax, Sir John speaks of Mr. Robert Markham as an honest gentleman, a good housekeeper, well descended, and well affected in religion.

[5] "The Metamorphosis of Ajax," printed in 1596. See Account of Sir John Harington prefixed.

signified displeasure in outwarde sorte, yet did she like the marrowe of your booke. Your great enemye, Sir James, did once mention the Star-Chamber, but your good esteeme in better mindes outdid his endeavors, and all is silente again. The Queen is minded to take you to her favour, but she sweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write *misacmos*[6] again on her and all the courte; she hath been heard to say, "that merry poet, her godson, must not come to Greenwich, till he hath grown sober, and leaveth the ladies sportes and frolicks." She did conceive much disquiet on being tolde you had aimed a shafte at Leicester: I wishe you knew the author of that ill deed; I would not be in his beste jerkin for a thousand markes. You yet stande well in her Highnesse love, and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the Lieutenant, Essex; if so, mark my counsel in this matter:—I doubte not your valor nor your labor, but that damnable uncoverd honestie will marr your fortunes. Observe the man who commandeth, and yet is commanded himselfe; he goeth not forthe to serve the Queenes realme, but to humour his owne re-

[6] Harington's "Metamorphosis of Ajax" professes to be written by *Misacmos*, to his friend and cosin Philostilpnos.

venge.[7] Be heedful of your bearinges; speake not your minde to all you meete. I tell you I have ground for my caution; Essex hath enemies; he hath friendes too: now there are two or three of Montjoys[8] kindred sent oute in your armie; they are to report all your conduct to us at home. As you love yourself, the Queene, and me, discover not these matters; if I did not love you, they had never been tolde. High concerns deserve high attention; you are to take accounte of all that passes in your expedition, and keepe journal thereof, unknown to any in the company; this will be expected of you. I have reasons to give for this order:—If the Lord Deputy performs in the field what he hath promised in the council, all will be well; but, tho' the Queene hathe graunted forgivenesse for his late demeanor,[9] in

[7] Against Lord Montjoy, with whom he was then at enmity.

[8] Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, was intended, by the Queen and her council, to have been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, but the Earl of Essex, who had a secret desire to fill that post, over-ruled the intention of the cabinet: and hence arose Mr. Robert Markham's politic caution to his friend.

[9] This alludes to the conduct of Essex, who turned his back contemptuously upon the Queen, when she opposed his

her presence, we know not what to think hereof. She hath, in all outwarde semblance, placed confidence in the man who so lately sought other treatment at her handes: we do sometime thinke one way, and sometime another; what betydeth the Lord Deputy is known to Him only who knowethe all; but when a man hath so manie shewing friendes, and so manie unshewing enemies, who learneth his end here below? I say, do you not meddle in any sorte, nor give your jesting too freely among those you know not: obey the Lord Deputy in all thinges, but give not your opinion; it may be heard in England. Tho' you obey, yet seem not to advise, in any one pointe; your obeysance may be, and must be, construed well; but your counsel may be ill thoughte of, if any bad businesse followe. You have now a secret from one that wishes you all welfare and honour; I know there are overlookers set on you all, so God direct your discretion. Sir William Knolles[2] is not well pleased, the Queene is not

wishes respecting the administration of Ireland, and exasperated her to give him a box on the ear. See the Earl's letter on this occasion in the "Cabala."

[2] Sir William Knolles was at first proposed, by Queen Elizabeth, as the fittest person to be sent to Ireland, but the

well pleased, the Lord Deputy may be pleased nowe, but I sore fear what maye happen hereafter. The hart of man lieth close hid oft time; men do not carrye it in their hand, nor should they do so that wish to thrive in these times and in these places; I say this that your own honestie may not shew itself too muche, and turn to your own ill favour. Stifle your understandinge as muche as may be; mind your bookes, and make your jestes, but take heed who they light on. My love hathe overcome almoste my confidence and truste which my truthe and place demandethe. I have said too much for one in my dependant occupation, and yet too little for a friende and kinsman, who putteth himself to this hard tryal for your advantage. You have difficult matters to encounter, besyde Tirone and the rebels; there is little heed to be had to showe of affection in state businesse; I finde this by those I discourse with dailie, and those too of the wiser sorte. If my Lord Treasurer[3] had livede longer, matters would go on surer. He was our greate pilot, on whom all caste their eyes, and soughte

influence of Essex prevailed over the Queen's opinion, and his uncle's wish.

[3] Burleigh.

their safetie. The Queenes Highnesse doth often speake of him in teares, and turn asyde when he is discoursed of; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the council. This I learne by some friendes who are in good liking with Lord Buckhurst.[4] My sister beareth thys to you, but dothe not knowe what it containethe; nor would I disclose to any woman my dealinges in this sorte; for danger goeth abroad, and silence is the safest armor. The death of K. Philip was good news to our realme;[5] God did seem to punishe his vain glorie bothe in his life and at his death. It is reported he was eaten up by loathsome vermin; and we know what troubles he endured aforetyme, and yet got little good but in his Portugal businesse. God speed your jorneys, and keep you safelie to returne to us againe. So wishethe and praiethe

Your loving kinsman and friende,

Rob. Markham.

[4] Lord Burleigh's successor in the treasurership.

[5] Philip II. King of Spain, died Sept. 13, 1598.

The Earl of Essex to John Haryngton, Esq. touchinge his beinge appointed Lord Leiutenante in Irelande, 1599.

Her Majesties Grace appointethe me to go to Irelande, and hath speciallie commended yourselfe to my assistance and notyse; hence you are to lerne myne affections for hir commandes. You muste get forwarde and well accouterde in all haste for thys undertakynge. I shall provyde you to a commande of horsemen in consorte and commande of the Earl of Southamptone; youre sarvys shall not be ill reportede or unrewardede for the love the Queene bearethe you. I will confer soche honor and advantages as are in my breste and powere, forasmoche as hir Majestie makethe me to commaunde peace or warre, to truce, parley, or soche matter as seemethe beste for our enterpryse and goode of hir realme. Be nowe assurede of my love for hir sake who byds it, and accounte youre happynesse in hir favor, and hys whom she favorethe, even myselfe, who wyshethe youre advauncemente.

ESSEX.

I have beaten Knollys and Montjoye[5] in the councele, and by G—d I will beat Tyr-Owen in the feilde; for nothynge worthye hir Majesties honor hathe yet beene atchievede.[6]

[5] See the preceding letter, pp. 241-2.

[6] Nor was any thing achieved by this vaunting generalissimo, which could obtain applause from his countrymen, or favour from his royal mistress. On the contrary, all his proceedings appeared to be the result of frivolous delay; and his enemies even whispered, that he rather meditated an invasion of his native country, than the reduction of the Irish rebels. The weak measure of concluding an unauthorised truce with Tyrone, and the rash expedient of quitting his post to throw himself at the feet of the Queen, led to his destruction. This impolitic commander set forward from London on the 27th of March, 1599, and returned from Ireland on the 28th of September. On the 19th of February, 1600, he was arraigned at Westminster for conspiring against the Queen and the government, and being found guilty, was beheaded within the Tower, Feb. 25.

REPORT OF

A JOURNEY

INTO THE

NORTH OF IRELAND.

WRITTEN TO

JUSTICE CAREY,

BY

SIR JOHN HARINGTON, 1599.

HAVING expected shipping till the 8th of this month, [April], and meeting with none convenient, (in respect that all were taken up with sick souldiers, or with my Lord Lieutenant's horses,) I was desirous to make some use of the time that I should stay here, and therefore was easily persuaded to go with Sir William Warren,[7] my kind friend, with whom I had been formerly acquainted in England, and to see some part of the realme northward, and the arch-rebel himself, with whom Sir William was to treat.

[7] Sir William Warren had the command of fifty horse and a hundred foot. Moryson's Itinerary.

But staying at Dundalk till the 15th of this month, and no news certain of the earl's coming, I went to see the Newry, and from thence to Darlingford by the narrow water, and was hindred by waters that I could not come back to Sir William Warren before his first meeting with the Earl Tyrone, which was on the 17th day; [at] what time how far they proceeded I know not, but it appeard that the earl was left in good dysposition, because he kept his hour so well, the next morning: and, as I found after, Sir William had told him of me, and given such a report of me above my desert, that next day, when I came, the earl used far greater respect to me than I expected; and began debasing his own manner of hard life, comparing himself to wolves, that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it; then excused himself to me that he could no better call to mind myself, and some of my friends that had done him some courtesy in England; and been oft in his company at my Lord of Ormond's; saying, these troubles had made him forget almost all his friends.

After this he fell to private communication with Sir William, to the effecting of the matters begun the day before; to which I thought

it not fit to intrude myself, but took occasion the while to entertain his two sons, by posing them in their learning, and their tutors, which were one Fryar Nangle, a Franciscan; and a younger scholer, whose name I know not; and finding the two children of good towardly spirit, their age between thirteen and fifteen, in English cloths like a nobleman's sons; with velvet gerkins and gold lace; of a good chearful aspect, freckle-faced, not tall of stature, but strong, and well set; both of them [learning] the English tongue; I gave them (not without the advice of Sir William Warren) my English translation of "Ariosto," which I got at Dublin; which their teachers took very thankfully, and soon after shewed it the earl, who call'd to see it openly, and would needs hear some part of it read. I turn'd (as it had been by chance) to the beginning of the 45th canto,[8] and some other passages of the book, which he seemed

[8] "Looke, how much higher Fortune doth erect
The clyming wight, on her unstable wheele,
So much the nigher may a man expect
To see his head where late he saw his heele:
On t'other side, the more man is oppressed,
And utterly ov'rthrowne by Fortune's lowre;
The sooner comes his state to be redressed,
When wheele shal turne and bring the happy houre

to like so well, that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him.

Then they fell to communication again, and, (calling me to him) the earl said, that I should witness, and tell my Lord Lieutenant, how, against all his confederates wills, Sir William had drawn him to a longer cessation, which he would never have agreed to, but in confidence of my lord's honourable dealing with him; for, saith he, "now is my harvest time, now have my men their six weeks pay afore-hand, that they have nothing to do but fight; and if I omit this opportunity, and you shall prepare to invade me the mean time, I may be condemned for a fool."

Also one pretty thing I noted, that the paper being drawn for him to sign, and his signing it with O'Neal, Sir William (though with very great difficulty) made him to new write it, and subscribe, Hugh Tyrone. Then we broke our fasts with him, and at his meat he was very merry, and it was my hap to thwart one of his priests in an argument, to which he gave reasonable good ear, and some approbation. He drank to my lord's[9] health, and bade me tell

[9] Lord Essex.

him he loved him, and acknowledgd this cessation had been very honourably kept. He made likewise a solemn protestation that he was not ambitious, but sought only safety of his life, and freedom of his conscience, without which he would not live, though the Queen would give him Ireland.

Then he asked of Sir Henry[2] Harington, and said he heard he had much wrong, to have an imputation of want of courage, for the last defeat at Arkloo; protesting, that himself had known Sir Henry serve as valiantly as ever any man did, naming the time, place, and persons, all known to Sir William Warren.

Other pleasant and idle tales were needless and impertinent, or to describe his fern table and fern forms, spread under the stately canopy of heaven. His guard, for the most part, were beardless boys without shirts; who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels. With what charm such a master makes them love him I know not, but if he bid come, they come; if go, they do go; if he say do this, they do it. He makes apparent show

[2] Cousin to Sir John.

to be inclinable to peace; and some of his nearest followers have it buzzed amongst them, that some league of England, with Spain or Scotland, or I know not where, may endanger them. But himself, no doubt, waits only to hear what my Lord Lieutenant intends, and according to that will bend his course.

Fryar Nangle swears all oaths, that he will do all the good he can, and that he is guiltless of the heinous crimes he is indited of; for, if he had his pardon, perhaps there might be made good use of him.

This is all I remember any way worthy the writing to you, not doubting but Sir William Warren, that had the sole charge of this business, will give you much better account of the weightier affairs than I, that only went to see their manner of parting.

I remain, in much duty,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir John Harington to Mr. [3] Combe, from Trim, in Ireland, 1599.

Good Thomas, I have received sundry letters from you, and namely the last dated August 24th, which came not to my hands till the xxxth of September, whereby it seems the messenger made slow speed, and who it was I know not; and therefore, as I have directed others, so I wish you to name in your letters, if you may, by whom you send them, that they may receive thanks or blame, according to their care and speed. In sundry of your letters, I have received good advertisment and honest counsels, and great good wishes, all which I take in good part; to satisfy you in part of my being here, and what I have seen, and how I have sped (for I find you hear variable reports) you shall understand, that, since my Lord Lieutenant came into Ireland, the forces being divided as occasion required; some into Munster, some to Lesly, many into the North, and a few into Connoght; it was partly my hap, and

[3] Thomas Combe, the confidential domestic of Sir John.

partly my choice, for Sir Griffin Markhams[4] sake, and three[5] Markhams more, to go into Connoght; where I spent some weeks about Aloane, Ballinglow, Clanrickard, Galloway, and lastly, Roscommon, the place then appointed for garrison. This while I saw many things, and some well worth the observing, both for war and peace; and notwithstanding all the dangerous passages through paves, (as they call those woods, which are full of rebels), and through divers fordes, which are likewise places of great disadvantage, yet we passed through all with small losse; notwithstanding, I say, the attempts and ambushes of fiery Machue, of Connor Roe, of the Obrians, of some of the Bourks, and other the rebels, such as the Jaytes, and O'Maddins, and many mad knaves beside. And this while my Lord Lieutenant went through Munster as far as Asketon, and was sometimes fought with upon places of advantage, but without any great loss on either side. Neither in all that journey was any thing done greatly worth speaking of, but the taking of Cathyre, and one or two castles beside.

[4] Sir Griffin Markham was a colonel of horse in the forces sent against Tyrone. Vid p. 181, sup.

[5] The sons of Mr. Robert Markham, of Cottam. vid. postea.

After this, the next journey was to O'phaley, where Sir Cunynes[6] Clyfford, the Governor of Connought, met my Lord,[7] and Sir Griffin Markham, and six of the best gentlemen of his troop came with him, and served bravely on foot; for no horse could passe the way they came: they burned and spoiled a country called Ferrallie, and won a castle of Terryllies, one of the shrewdest rebels of Ireland, and his companies did no lesse; so that all the countrey was on fire at once, and our comming was so unlook'd for, that in the towns where we came, the rebels had not leisure to carry away their young children, much lesse their corn and other stuff. In all this journey I was comerade to the Earl of Kildare,[8] and slept both on one pillow every night for the most part; here, at the parting, my Lord gave Sir Griffin Markham great commendations, and made him colonel and commander of all the horse in Connoght; and gave me and some others the honour of

[6] Conyers Clyfford,

[7] Lord Essex.

[8] Moryson, in his Itinerary, speaks of an Earl of Kildare as *cast away* in a little bark with some other gallant gentlemen in his passage to Ireland; Leland proceeds farther, and says, he was *drowned;* but this letter invalidates such a report.

knighthood in the field: and so, ~~my honest Thomas,~~ with honour, conquest, and content, we returned again into Connoght. But see the changes and chances of warr.—The Governor woud needs undertake a journey to Sligo, with twenty-one weak companies, that were not 1400 strong; and a less proportion of horse than had been requisite for such a purpose; and yet, out of his too much haste and courage, after two long days march, with small rest, and less ~~re~~-past, he would needs draw his men to set upon the enemy in a place of great disadvantage, called the Curlews;[9] where, though the enemy was at first repulsed, yet at last their numbers encreasing, and our munition[2] failing, or some secret cause, that we know not, dismaying the footmen, they fell all in rout: the Governor and Sir Alexander Radcliffe were slain 'ere they coud come to their rescue. Some of our horse gave a desperate charge upon the hill, among rocks and bogs, where never horse was seen to charge before; it is verily thought they had all been cut in peices, at least lost all their colours; so ~~that~~ as if reputation were to be challenged ~~when~~ so great loss accompanied it, we might

[9] Mountains, so called.

[2] Ammunition.

take upon us to have won some honour; having, as Sir Henry Davers[3] did pleasantly write to Sir Griffin Markham, "not Roman citizens, but rascal soldiers, who, so their commanders had been saved, had been worthy to have been half hanged for their rascal cowardliness." Neither was this good service of ours unpaid for:—beside the loss of two or three good horses, and better men, Sir Griffin Markham was shot through the arm with a musket; and though he bare the hurt admirable well, for a day or two, and especially at the instant, yet ever since he hath kept his bed of it; and hath been in danger of his arm by the hurt, and of his life by an ague: but now he is, I hope, out of danger of both, and safe at Dublin. Myself (after I had conducted him in a horse-litter safe beyond danger of the rebels, within eight miles of Dublin,) went to Trim, the place appointed for our garrison; and from thence have visited Navan and Arbrachan, where my Lord Lieutenant lay yesterday, and the day before, and meant to go from thence to the Brennys; but most men think, by means the

[3] Or Danvers, afterward Earl of Danby. He ranked as lieutenant-general in the Irish expedition, and was twice wounded, in different engagements.

weather falls out so monstrous wet as the like hath not been seen, that he will not go far north.

I lye here at Mr. Robert Hammon's house, who is this year port-reeve of Trim, as much in effect as mayor. He shews the greatest gratitude to me, and to all my friends for my sake; that to my remembrance I can say no man hath done more. Yet was he not beholden to my father for one foot of his living, but only for his breeding. I recommend this example the rather unto you, because I would have you follow it, as far as your ability and opportunity will give leave.

Now you see by the course of this letter, that I have reason to thank God very greatly, that among so many as have been hurt and slain, where I have been, and some shot even in the very same ranks I was of, I have escaped all this while without bodily hurt. But I protest there is much rather great cause to thank God, who hath kept me so long in bodily health at Roscommon, where not so few as sixty died within the walls of the castle, in which we lay; and some as lusty men as any came out of England. In the camp, where drinking water, and milk,

and vinegar, and aqua vitæ, and eating raw beef at midnight, and lying upon wet green corn oftimes, and ~~lying~~ in boots, ~~with~~ heats and colds, made many sick; yet myself (in a good hour be it spoken and a better heard) ~~was~~ never sick; neither in the camp nor the castle, at sea or on land. Besides all this, to vaunt myself at large, to you; I have informed myself reasonably well of the whole state of the country, by observations and conference; so that I count the knowledge I have gotten here worth more than half the three hundred pounds ~~this~~ jorney hath cost me: and ~~as to~~ warr, joyning the practise to the theory, and reading the book you so prays'd, and other books of Sir Griffin ~~Markham's~~, with his conference and instructions, I hope at my coming home ~~to~~ talk of counterscarpes, and cazamats,[4] ~~with any of our captains~~.

The Irish lords, gentry, yea, and citizens, where I come, I have found so apt to offer me kindness, so desirous of my acquaintance, that my friends think it a presage of a fortune I might rise to in this kingdom; though myself do ~~little~~ affect it, and much less hope to effect

[4] i. e. *casemates*, loop-holes in a fortified wall.

it. My "Ariosto" has been entertained into Gallway before I came. When I got thither, a great lady, a young lady, and a fair lady, read herself asleep, nay dead, with a tale of it; the verse, I think, so lively figured her fortune: for, as Olympia was forsaken by the ungrateful Byreno, so had this lady been left by her unkind Sir Calisthenes; whose hard dealing with her cannot be excused, no not by Demosthenes.

Lastly, (which perhaps will seem strange to you, and was very grateful to me,) three sons of my cousin Robert Markham of Cottam, (whom you know the world mistook to have been wronged by me, and consequently deeply offended at me,) have in their several kinds and places offerd me such courtesies, kindnesses, nay, such services, as if they held me for one of their best friends in Ireland.

Thus, gentle Thomas, I have, in recompence of your long letters, enlarged the discourse of my Irish affairs; but I must not forget nor cease to tell her Majestie's good, wise, and gracious providings for us, her captains, and our soldiers, in summer heats and winter colds, in hunger and thirst, for our backs and our bellies: that is to say, every captain of an hundred

footmen doth receive weekly, upon every Saturday, his full entertainment of twenty-eight shillings. In like case, every lieutenant fourteen shillings; an ensign, seven shillings; our sergeant, surgeon, drum, and fife, five shillings pay, by way of imprest; and every common soldier, three shillings; deliverd to all by the pole weekly. To the four last lower officers, two shillings weekly; and for every common soldier, twenty pence weekly, is to be answerd to the full value thereof, in good apparel of different kinds, part for winter, and part for summer, which is orderd of good quality and stuff for the prices; patterns whereof must be sent to the Lord Deputy to be compared and prepared as followeth.

Apparel for an officer in winter.

A cassock[5] of broad cloth with bays, and trimmed with silk lace, 27 shillings and 7 pence.

A doublet of canvass with silk buttons, and lined with white linnen, 14 shillings and 5 pence.

Two shirts and two bands, 9 shillings and 6 pence.

[5] Or casaque, appears to have been what is now termed a horseman's coat.

Three pair of kersey stockings, at 2 shillings and 4 pence a pair, 7 shillings.

Three pair of shoes of neats leather, at 2 shillings and 4 pence per pair, 7 shillings.

One pair of Venetians,[6] of broad Kentish cloth, with silver lace, 15 shillings and 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts and bands, 9 shillings 6 pence.

Two pair of shoes, 4 shillings 8 pence.

One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence.

A felt hat and band, 5 shillings 5 pence.

Apparel for a common soldier in winter.

A cassock of Kentish broad cloth, lined with cotton, and trimmed with buttons and loops, 17 shillings 6 pence.

A doublet of canvass with white linnen lining, 12 shillings 6 pence.

[6] The French gave this name, as Mr. Douce informs me, to a cloth originally manufactured at Venice, and, as he supposes, imitated in Kent. This cloth would give name to the habit made of it, which probably resembled our modern pantaloons. In a very curious poetical MS. belonging to the Rev. Mr. Todd, and particularly described in his edition of Milton, vol. v. p. 443, a taylor is said to have received

"Three yards of 3 pyle velvet, and 3 quarters,
To make *Venetians* downe beneath the garters."

A hat cap coloured, seven shillings.
Two shirts of Osnabridge holland and bands, 8 shillings,
Three pair of neats leather shoes, 2 shillings 4 pence each, 7 shillings.
Three pair kersy stockings, 8 shillings.
One pair Venetians, of Kentish broad cloth, with buttons, loops, and lining of linnen, thirteen shillings 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts of Osnabridge and 2 falling Holland bands, 7 shillings.
Two pair neats leather shoes, 4 shillings 8 pence.
One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence.
A hat cap coloured, 3 shillings.

Thus, friend Thomas, her Majesty, with wonted grace hath graced our bodies, and may heav'ns grace cloath her in everlasting robes of righteousness, and "on earth peace" to her who always sheweth "good will toward all men."

So resteth thy loving Master,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir John Harington to Sir Anthony Standen,[7] Knight.

Athlone, in Ireland, 1599.

I DOWT not but many pens and tongues utter, after many fashions, the report of our late unfortunate journey, but yet I thought it not amiss to write you this breif narration of it; which I may say, *quæque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars una fui.* On Sunday last the governor marched with one and twenty companies, or colours, (for indeed some of them were but mere colours of companies, having sixty for a hundred and fifty,) from Tulske, eight miles beyonde Roscommon, to the abbey of Boyly, some fourteen miles; and hearing belike that the enemy was but weak in the Cur-

[7] Mr. Anthony Standen was a roman catholic, whose religious zeal induced him to leave England about 1563, and enter into the service of Mary Queen of Scots, upon whose misfortunes in 1565, he quitted Britain, and became a pensioner to the King of Spain. He was afterwards secretly engaged in the services of Queen Elizabeth, from whom he obtained a pension, and the honour of knighthood. See Birch's Memoirs of the reign of Q. Eliz.

lews, and that they expected not his coming; (because captain Cosby the very day before came from Boyly towards Roscommon:) on this account the governor, God bless him, resolved to possess the Pare that nyght, being two miles from the abbey. This was against the minds of most of the captains: the soldiers being weary and fasting, insomuch that they spake for meat ere they went up, but the governor promist them they should have beef enough at nyght, and so drew them on: but many, God wot, lost their stomachs before supper. The order was this:—captain Lister led the forlorn hope; Sir Alexander Ratcliff and his regiment had the vaunt-guard; my Lord of Dublin led the battle; Sir Arthur Savage, the rear; the horse were appointed to stand in a little pasture at the foot of the hill, to the intent that, when the Pare had been cleared, they might have come up. After our men had gone up the hill and entered part of the Pare, the rebels begun to play upon them from a barracado that they had made; but our men soon beat them from it, and Sir Alexander Radcliff very bravely beat them out of a thin wood into a bog on the left side of the Pare; and we who stood at the foot of the hill might see them, and all men thought the Pare had been ours.

But after the skirmish had lasted an hour and half very hot, and our shot had expended all our powder; the vantguard wheeled about in such a fashion, that, what with that, and some strange and causless fear, that fell upon our men, the vant-guard fell into the battayle; and in conclusion all fell in rout, and no man could stay them. The governor himself, labouring to turne them, lost his breath, his voice, his strength, and last of all, his life;[8] or, which is worse, in the rebels hands, and none could force him off. How it can be answerd at home by such as it concerned most I know not, but so vile and base a part I think was never played among so many men, that have been thought of some desert. But now, the horse standing at the foot of the hill, and seeing through the woods and glades some disorder, though not suspecting so ill as it was, charged up the hill another way that lay on the left: if it may be called a way, that had stones in it six or seven feet broad, lying above ground. and plashes of bogs between them. But with this charge we made the enemy retire; whereby all the foot and colours came off; but we bought this small reputation (if so it will be taken) very dearly,

[8] On the 14th of September, according to Fynes-Moryson.

for our own commander of the horse had his arm broken with a shot, and had another shot through his clothes, and some seven or eight horse more killed and several proper men. Captain [John] Jephson was next to Sir Griffith Markham in the head of Lord Southampton's troops, and charged very gallantly. I would not for all the land I have, but I had been well hors'd. I verily think the idle faith which possesses the Irishry, concerning magic and witchcraft, seized our men and lost the victory. For when my cozen Sir H. Harington, in a treacherous parley with Rorie Ogie,[9] a notable rebel, was taken and conveyed to his habitation a prisoner; his friends not complying with the terms offerd for his ransom, sent a large band to his rescue, which the rebel seeing to surround his house, rose in his shirt, and gave Sir Henry fourteen grievous wounds, then made his way through the whole band and escaped, notwithstanding his walls were only mud.[2] Such was

[9] The resentment shewn by Queen Elizabeth, when an attempt was made to poison the bloody and dangerous rebel Rory Og, is adduced by Chettle as an instance of her Majesty's good faith even with traitors. England's Mourning Garment.

[2] This circumstance was previously related by Sir John Harington, in his notes to the 12th book of Orlando Furioso;

their panick, as verily thinking he effected all by dint of witchery, and had by magic compell'd them not to touch him. And this belief doth much daunt our soldiers when they come to deal with the Irishry, as I can well perceive from their discourse. You will hear more from other captains of further advances:

So I reste, to all commande,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir John Harington's Report concerning the Earle of Essex's Journeys in Ireland, from May 10 to July 3, 1599.[3]

AFTER the Lo. Leuetenant-generall and Governor of Ireland had rested certayn days at Dublin, for establishing the state of the king-

where Sir Henry's band, who surrounded the little hovel of Rorie Ogie, were said to consist of 100 men. Lord Essex, however, highly disapproved the conduct of Sir Henry Harington, and only forbore to bring him before a court martial because he was a privy-counsellor of Ireland. This appears from the Earl's letter to the Lords of the Council, in Bibl. Cotton. Tit. B. xiii. See also Birch's Mem. of Q. Eliz.

[3] This Journal was suggested by Mr. Robert Markham, and exhibited to Queen Elizabeth at her express desire and

dom, and for making his necessary provysyon for the warre, (which I can but conjecture) his Lordship departed thence (May 10) toward the champion fields between the villadges Kilrushe and Castell Martin: in whiche place (on the 12th) he appointed to meete him 17 ensignes of foote and 300 horse; whiche his Lordship devided into regiments, appointing the same to be commaunded by collonells. The daie folowinge, the rebells shewed themselves in small numbers, deliveringe some fewe shotte owte of woods and ditches upon owr vaunt-couriers, but without anie hurte. This night the armie lodged by Athie, whiche hathe beene a greate markett, but broughte by theis warres into the state of a pore villadge, It is devided in two partes by the river Baro, over the whiche lyethe a stone bridge, and over that a castell, occupied by James Fitz Deane (a gent of the familie of the Gerraldynes,) who yeilded himselfe to the mercie of the Lo. Leafetenaunte; as did also, the same daie, the Lo. Viscount Mountgarrett and the Lo. of Cahir (bothe

command, though the author says he did not intend it should be seen by any eyes but those of his own children. (See his Letter to Mr. Robert Markham, 1606.) It appears to have assisted in drawing down much displeasure against the Earl of Essex and his military associates in the Irish expedition.

Buttlers) who were presented to his Lo. by the Earle of Ormond, who in that place joyned his forces to our armie. His Lo. having putt a guarde in the castell of Athie, passed his forces over the Baro by the bridge of the castell; whose river being not otherwaies fordable but with difficultie, and the bridge therof the onlie waie whiche leadethe into the Queenes countie, th' importaunce of this enterprise must appeare to the most dull and ignoraunt sence. At Woodstocke (a villadge scituate upon Baro) his Lo. expected victualls a daie or two for the releafe of Marieborroughe, (a forte of muche importaunce, but of contemptible strengthe,) in the Queenes Countie; to whiche his Lo. nowe hasted, not permittinge other staie in his journie, then necessitie gave cause. Duringe the tyme the army encamped (May 14) by Woodstocke, the rebells attempted the stealing of some of our horses; whiche beinge perceaved by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence (sonne to the Lo. of Howthe) he passed by the Baro naked, and, folowed by his menne, reskewed the praie, and retourned withe the heade of a rebell. Aboute the same tyme, the rebell presented himself about 200 stronge, in the sight of the Castle Reban, (a howse of Capt. Leas, a myle from the armie,) whiche, upon sighte of the

Earle of Sowthampton, who hasted towardes them in moste soldierlike order, withe a small troope of horse and foote, retyred themselves to theire bogges, and from thence to theire woodes. There the Lo. Greye, beinge carried nearer to the rebell by heate of valour (naturall to suche yeeres and nobilitie) then was reasonable, and contrarie to the commaundmente of the Earle of Sowthampton, was, for his contempte, punished by the Lorde Leiufetennaunte withe a nyghtes imprisonment.[4] So soone as his Lo. was provided of victualls, he marched withe his armie towardes the forte Marieborroughe, in the Queenes Countie. In the waie, the rebell shewed himself by a passadge called Blackeforde; throughe whiche my Lo. marched in suche excellent order, that it terrefied him not to attempte upon anie parte of the armie, but to approache neare unto the same. His Lo. havinge victualled the forte, (where he knyghted

[4] Lord Grey, perhaps from this indignity, became the determined enemy of Lord Essex and of Lord Southampton. The latter he publicly assaulted in the streets of London, for which he was committed to the Fleet; and the former he appears to have aimed at outwitting, by a piece of political jockeyship, as Rowland Whyte reported to Sir Robert Sidney. Camden, however, relates the circumstance in a different manner.

Syr Fra. Rushe, and encreased the garrison,) lodged that nyght (May 17) at the foote of a verie high hill, called Croshie Juffe ([5]the generall latelie of the province of Leinster) wheare the rebell wonce in Rorie O More shewed himselfe, withe about 500 foote and 40 horse, 2 myles from our campe, renewinge that nighte, and contynewinge the nexte morninge, a challendge, whiche he had made a fewe daies before, to fight (some of his withe some of ours) withe swordes and targettes; whiche was consented unto by his Lordshippe, but the rebell never came to performe it. His Lordship havinge, from the top of Croshie Juffe, veiwed the countrie rounde aboute, and particularlie the waie of that daies journie, led the armie towardes Cashell, ¼ a mile from that nightes quarter. The nature of the passadge is suche:—thoroughe a thicke woode, ¼ halfe of a myle longe, leadethe a highe waye, in moste places 10 goinge paces broade, which, in the middest, was traversed withe a trenche, and the wood plashed on bothe sydes; from behind whiche, the enimie might withe facilitie gaule oure men in their passadge. To the other too sydes of the woode are adjoyned too bogges, whiche

[5] *Qu.* Whether this parenthesis should not follow the name of Sir Fra. Rushe?

serve the rebell for a verie sure retreate from all force of our armie: but upon an elevated peece of grounde betweene the woode and bogge, on the lefte hande, was a villadge, from behinde whiche the rebell might fall in, and returne to his strengthe. His Lo. to make his waie secure thoroughe this passadge, ordered his armie in this sorte:—The whole armie was devided into seven battailes; before the vauntgarde marched the forlorn hope, consistinge of 40 shott and 20 shorte weapons, withe order that the shott shulde not be deschardge till theie presented theire peeces to the rebelles breastes in theire trenches; and that suddainelie the shorte weapons shoulde enter the trenches pell-mell. Upon either syde of the vauntgarde (whiche was observed in the battaile and rearegarde) marched wynges of shott, enterlyned withe pikes, to whiche were sente secondes, withe as muche care and diligence as occasion required. The baggadge and a parte of the horse marched before the battaile; the reste of the horse fell in before the rearegarde, excepte 30, whiche, under the conducte of Sir Henerie Davers, made the retreate of the whole armie. These goinge to the release of Capt. Morrisham, who was ingadged by the rebell, they repelled him without any other losse, than that Sir Alex-

ander Rattcliffe hadd his horsse shott in the heade of the troupe. The vauntgarde, followed by the other partes of the armie, havinge by provident marche gayned the ende of the passadge (where descovered it selfe a lardge champion) was commaunded to make halt, untill the horsse, and whatsoever was unprofitable in the straite, were advaunced to the plaine. This was the order (as I have hearde) appointed by the Lo. Leiufetenaunte; which beinge not observed in all partes of the armie withe like diligence, there were loste by follie Capt. Gardner and Capt. Boswell, withe some 3 private menne. His Lp. was that day in no place, (that is, in every place) flyinge like lighteninge from one parte of the armie to an other, leadinge, directinge, and followinge the vauntgarde, battaile, and rearegarde. The deathes of our captaines were revenged by our quartermen and scoutemen, who accompanied withe divers gentlemen, slewe 7 of the rebells, whiche assaied to force the quarter; of whiche were Alexander Donnell, a gentleman, and Donnel Knogger, of base burthe, but for the proofe of his daringe and skill, of especiall esteeme withe Tyrone. In this conflicte, Edmonde Bushell, Gent. usher to his Lp. receaved a hurte in the breaste with a pike. The daie folowinge (May 19,) the Lo.

Leiufetennaunte, observinge the former order of marche, ledd his menne thoroughe the passadge called Ballia Raggatt, where we founde the rebelles so fewe in nomber, and so timerous in attemptinge, as their behaviour (on the 20th) proved, that the order of the other daies marche was terrible unto them. Theis passadges thus overcome, to the no small terror of the rebell, and admiration to the soldiers, his Lo. came to Killkennie, where he was receaved withe as muche joye of the cittizens as coulde be expressed, either by livelie orations, or silent strewinge of the streetes withe hearbes and rushes. To Clonmell (on the 24th) his Lp. was well wellcomed, to the like joye of the people, and withe a Lattin oration, or rather a dialogue, wherein the awthor had adjured his Lp. concerninge the establishinge of peace in Irelande; whiche, beinge delivered in unfitt termes, his Lo. reproved, protestinge his antipathie concerninge matters of justice; to moderate whiche, hir sacred Majestie hadd given him bothe sworde and power. The daie after (the 25th) the castell Darenclare, whiche had longe tyme offended the cittizens of Clonmell in their traffique by the ryver of Suire to Waterford, yeilded to his Lps. mercie. In the middest of the river of Suire lyethe an isleland, the same a naturall

rock, and upon it a castell, whiche, althoughe it be not builte withe anie greate arte, yet is the site suche by nature, that it maie be said to be inexpugnable. Of this castell, which is called Cahire, is the Lo. of Caire entituled Baron; whiche beinge helde by James Buttler, his younger brother, the L. Leiuf. sent the Lo. of Caire to parlie withe him; and withe him Sir Henerie Davers, whome he adjured, duringe the parlie, to understande as muche as he mighte the nature of the place: who, retourninge withe the Lord of Caire, (weill satisfied that his brother woulde not yeild upp the castell) related the site and strengthe of the castell to be suche as is mentioned. This night his Lordship reviewed the place himselfe in person, and caused the same to be done by the Lord Marshall and Serjeaunt Major, commaundinge that after a diligent reviewe, the approaches, (takinge the advauntadge by waie of olde diches and walls,) shoulde that nighte be removed to the wall of the counter-scarpe. One daie beinge intermitted, without dooinge anie thinge, for want of th'artillerie, whiche coulde not arrive in shorte, the same beinge onlie drawen by the force of menne: there passed a daie or two, before the batterie was commenced. The same nighte that the batterie was planted (May 28) his

Lordship sent the Lord Marshall and Serjeaunt Major, withe 300 menne, to occupie a garden whiche adjoyned to the castell, upon the southe weste parte. Althoughe the passadges to this garden were suche, that a verie small nomber mighte have made fronte to an armie, yet did theis beastes firste quit that place, and presentlie after, theie abandoned the castell, excepte 8 persons; to the releife of whiche were sente, earlie in the morninge, 100 kearne by the White Knighte. In the beginninge of the nighte, (May 29) Sir Christofer St. Lawrence was sente, withe 300 kearne menne, to possesse an isleland whiche lieth from the castell northeaste (not more than hargabushe[5] shott) and to breake upp two bridges; one of whiche leadethe from the isleland to the maine, and the other from the same isleland to the castell. The rebells (on the 30th) seeinge themselves, in the morninge, secluded from that releefe whiche theie howerly expected from Desmonde, and from the White Knightes, at nighte thei conveied themselves (withe muche stillnesse) owte of the castell, whiche yet beinge perceaved by our guardes, theie fell presentlie to execution, and entered aswell the castell without resistaunce as direction; by whiche accident was re-

[5] Harquebus.

possessed for hir Majestie, withe the slaughter of 80 rebells, one of the strongest places by nature that is in Irelande, or that can be imadgined ells where. Duringe this siedge, Capt. Brett was shott in the bodie withe a hargabush, as was also Capt. George Carie, thoroughe bothe cheekes and thoroughe the bodie, the bullett enteringe above the lefte shoulder, and passing thoroughe the opposite arme hole; whiche hurtes were more then miraculous, for that there were onlie 3 shott made, and his bodie in all other partes covered withe an armor of muskett proof. Theis 2 worthie captaines, havinge in this siedge, as in manie other places, made honorable proofes of theire vertue, lefte, within a fewe daies, the example thereof to be admyred of all, but to be imitated of fewe, and they themselves departed to a happier life. His Lordship havinge (May 31) repaired the breaches of the castell, and lefte suche a garrizon in the same as muste annoie the fronteringe[6] rebell, (his sicke men beinge sente to Clonmell,) he aryved by easie journies at Lymmericke, where he was enterteined withe two Englishe orations; in whiche I knowe not whiche was more to be discommended, wordes, composition, and oratorie, all of them havinge

[6] i. e. opposing.

theire perticular excellencies in barbarisme, harshenes, and rustical bothe pronouncinge and action. The armie, whiche had endured muche, aswell by foule waies as by unseasonable weather, beinge well refreshed by the releafe it receaved from Lymmericke, was conducted by his Lordship to Adare, a ruinated abbeie; in whiche villadge his Lordship lodged a regiment of foote. Passinge the same daie (June 4) over the river Adare, over a narrow bridge, which was well perceaved by the rebells Desmonde and Lacie; who never made a shew to prohibit the passadge, althoughe theie hadd (not muche more then musket shott from the same) about 12 foote under 5 ensignes and 2 Cornettes of horse, either appearinge at least to be a 100. Theie were trained in sight of our armie, (devided from it by an unfordable river and a bogge) but in such disorder, that it rather seemed a morrice daunce, by theire trippinge after there badge pipes, then anie soldierlike exercise; theie conveying themselves (after a while) in a ringedaunce into the woode whiche theie hadd close at theire backes, and from whiche theie have not departed farther at anie tyme, since our armie entered Mounster, then an old hunted hare dothe from hir covert for releife. Early in the morninge the armie

passed the river, and marched towardes a passadge, ¼ a myle from Adare, whiche hadd on either syde a woode, but under that on the right hande a bogge, by the heade of whiche extended it selfe the woode on the lefte hande; the passadge laie over the bogge, whiche was verie deficiente bothe for maine naturall strengthe whiche we founde in the same, and for pillages made that morninge by the rebell. At the enteraunce into the passadge betweene the woodes, the dexter winges beinge not so farr advaunced as the forlorne hopes; his Lordship (beinge in the heade of his troupes to directe them) had delivered upon close at hande, a volley of at leaste 100 shott, whiche were instauntlie repelled by some troupes whiche his Lordship caused to be drawen forthe of the vauntgarde, commanded that daie by the Earle of Thomounde. His lordship, havinge with the losse of more then an 100 without anie losse of his owne, putt the rebell to retreate on that parte, possessed himselfe of the passadge, placinge on either syde a regiment to assure the same; and, that done, returned to give order to the rearegarde, where he was in like danger as before in the vauntgarde, overcominge the same withe the like order, but not altogether with so muche slaughter. The

rebell thus repelled, by the prudence of his Lordship, the whole troupes marched throughe the passadge, not alone without losse, but without anie difficultie. On the lefte hande of the passadge was Plunkett lodged, who with 300 rebells (makinge showe that daie, and withe an ecchoe in the woode, withe the reporte of 30 or 40 shott) was constrained the nexte daie to give pledges to Desmonde for th'assurance of his feithe. From the passadge his lordship conducted his armie to the Castell Ascheton, whiche was then somethinge distressed by the rebell, who intercepted the passadge in such sorte, as untill the tyme it coulde not convenientlie receave anie relief from Lymmericke, from whence it was nowe victualld by his lordship, the rebell neither hinderinge his lordship to passe nor repasse his armie over the river of Doile, upon whiche Ascheton is scituate, where a small nomber might have made heade to a copious troupe; nor indeavoringe anie notable offence, in anie place where theie might have prooved theire force withe muche advauntadge. His Lordship (as I conjecture, to give the rebell an inexcusable provocation) diverted his journey towardes the Castle Conon in countie of Korke, Desmondes cheife howse. In the waie, passinge betweene woodes, (harde by Phemters

towne,) which flanqued the armie on either syde within musquett shott, his Lordship, peradventure to lett the rebell knowe the virtue of his menne, and theire weaknesse, enterteined skaramouche[7] withe them in theire owne strengthe; forcinge them to abandon the same, withoute other losse, then that Sir Henerie Norrice,[8] presentinge a chardge withe his troupe of horse, hadd his legge broken with a shott; the whiche, to prevente the laste evill, or rather the firste, [on] enteraunce into garde, was cutt of, a fewe daies after, at Killmallocke. He endured the same withe extraordinarie patience. His Lordship, accordinge to his custome, findinge himselfe in everie place of action, was this daie in as muche danger as anie private man. So was likewise the Earle of Sowthampton in muche danger, expectinge perpetuallie in the heade of the troupe (all the tyme of the skaramouche) opportunitie to chardge the rebell. The Lord Greye, havinge that daie the vauntgarde of horse, gave chardge, withe 12 of his horse, to as manie of the rebells; forcinge them into the

[7] Skirmish.—Fr. escarmouche.

[8] *Qu.* The brother of Sir John Norris? whom Davies, in his "Scourge of Folly," has commemorated as one of England's nine Worthies.

woodes to their foote. There dyed of the rebell clan, Donnell, and one of the Burghes, bothe commaunders; onlie of ours, Capt. Jenninges, Sir Henerie Norrice beinge, by reporte, certaineelie recovered, as is also Fra. Markam, a gent. of knowne valor, who hadd his righte cheeke pearced withe a bullett (June 16.) The same daie that the armie passed by Castell Connor, was the same enterteined in skaramouche from the skirte of a road called Banno Coulaghe by Mac Carties menne, where Sir Henerie Davers (indevoringe to save certaine stragglers that indiscreetlie hadd ingadged themselves) was shott in the face, the bullett passinge to the roote of his lefte eare, where it still restethe, but without anie anoyaunce, he beinge alreadie perfectlie recovered. Desmonde, insteade of defendinge his castell, raced[9] the same; by whiche, thoroughe his whole countrie, the armie marched without anie offence, althoughe he might have presented himselfe in our waie in places of exceedinge advantadge; so that, without anie impeachment of the rebell, his Lordship arrived, on the 22d (notwithstandinge greate bragges by Desmonde) unfoughte withall, at Waterforde, where his Lord-

[9] Razed.

ship was receaved withe two Latin orations, and withe as muche joyfull concourse of people as anie other towne of Irelande. Duringe his Lordships aboade in Waterforde, the importaunce of the plan requiringe the same, on the 23d, he revewed withe carefull diligence the harborroughe, as also the forte Don Canon, whiche garde the same; the site and fabricature of whiche declare Sir John Norrys[2] (by whose approbation that was chosen, and then allowed) as judiciall an ingineer, as his other artes have ennobled him for a worthie souldier. For the syte, it is so overtopped by a imminent height, not distant from it more than 150 paces, that no mann can stande firme in the piazza of the forte; and as for anie arte of fortification, whereof the forte should participate, and whearbie skillfull ingineers are accustomed to render places more defencible, I shoulde thinke the same (submittinge yet my censure to the comptrolement of more experienced judgments) an insufficient intrenchment, and consequentlie a most defective fortresse; whose shelter affordethe ferme lodginge under it to an

[2] Sir John Norris was sent over to Ireland in 1595, to assist the Lord Deputy Russel. Camden gives him the character of "a man thoroughly trained up to military discipline, and valiant against all dangers." He died in 1597.

enimie, covering him from all offences of the parapett, and yet not the same raised to suche height as maie secure the defendauntes in the *strata cooperta;* whose diches are lowe and narrowe and shallowe; whose ramparte and parapett are lowe and slender; whose defences are *a forbici* and *in barba;*[3] and, that whiche is worse, there correspondence hindred by the cassamates in the diche, whose piazza is narrowe, affordinge no place for retreate, when that ramparte whiche is, shall either be beaten or topped; all whiche misfortunes are founde in that parte of the forte whiche regardethe the navie. The parte of the forte towardes the water, althoughe it hathe not so manie defectes as the former, yet hathe it as grosse errors as anie are mencioned. The two plateformes beinge bothe of

[3] Sir John here talks as fluently as Hotspur Percy did,

" Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets;
Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin;
And all th' occurrents of a heady fight."

In the epigrams ascribed by Drummond of Hawthornden to Sir John Davis, the use of such warlike words is ridiculed in Gallus,—a military fop,

" Who talks of counterscarpes, and casomates,
Of parapets, of curtenays, pallizadoes,
Of flankers, ravellings, gabions, he prates,
And of false baits, and sallies, and scaladoes."

Epig. 24.

them so skante that theie are not alone capable of suche a nomber of peeces as might serve to commaund the water, but that they whiche are there have not sufficient place for there recoyle: the defectes of whiche plateformes are suted withe aunswerable parapettes, whiche beinge slender and of stone, they promise (insteade of securitie) deathe, to as manie as shall, in tyme of necessitie, presente themselves to defence.

From Waterforde to Dublin (whither his Lordship was nowe (June 25) in retourne withe his armie) leadethe a double waie; the one thoroughe the clannes, whiche deniethe passadge to horse and carriadges; the other alonge the sea shore, by whiche his Lordship reviewed his armie, aswell, peradventure, for the conveniencie of the passadge, as to visite in his waie the garrisonnes of Ennis Corphie, Arctloe, Wickloe, and Newcastle. Untill the armie hadd passed, Amias Corphis, the rebell, never shewed himselfe; for all the former daies marche was thoroughe a plain champion, where he never trustethe himselfe; but before the armie was advaunced the middwaie from Ennis Corphie towardes Arctloe, the rebell, (aided withe the opportunitie of woods and bogges,) presented himselfe in our waie, for the destroying of cer-

taine villadges; all whiche (and only whiche) his Lordship caused, in despite of him, to be consumed withe fyre, on June 30. Aboute three myles from Arctloe, the armie was to passe a forde, where the enemie presented himselfe in our waie, with opinion, as maie be conjectured, if not to prohibite, yet to trouble the armie in the passadge. The skaramouche was for one halfe hower hotlie meinteined, either parte contendinge the forme; the other, by freshe secondes, borrowed from their grosses whiche theie hadd at hande. The Lord Lieuftennaunt, thinkinge to inclose the rebell betweene his horse and foote, commaunded the Lord of Sowthampton (who was now passinge the foorde) to take the first opportunitie to chardge; but the rebell (whose dreade of our horse causethe them to observe diligentlie all their mocions) perceavinge the Earle of Sowthampton to advaunce withe his troupes, retyred himselfe into his strengthe, a parte of them castinge awaie there armes for lightness, whiche yet escaped not altogether the execution of the Lord Leiufetenaunt, who directed the foote in that parte. The rebell was to passe in his strength thoroughe two small fieldes inclosed; thoroughe the ende of the seconde of whiche laie a horse waie unto a neighbour wood. His

Lordship, invited by the opportunity of the place, commanded [Lieut. Busshell,[4]] an Irishe commaunder of horse, to chardge, who committed a double error: the one, that he sente out 20 or 30 of his troupe before the reste, whiche might have broken the rebells, and have receaved his firste volley; the other, that, for about 12 shott that were delivered upon his troupe, he turned head, when his trumpet sounded a chardge; givinge life to more than 200 rebells that stoode at his mercy. In the meane while, whiles theis thinges were in hande, the whole troupes were passed the sands, and his Lordship beganne to contynewe his march towardes Arctloe; layinge in a villadge upon the waie an ambuscade of about 40 horse, whiche mighte cut off the rebell, &c. (which his Lordship most judicially supposed he shoulde approache to offende the reare: but the rebell (who is not easilie surprised by ambuscado) either perceavinge or suspectinge deceipt, made an halt withe his two troupes, whiche appeared to be about 800 foote and 50 horse, (a nomber whiche, howsoever it seeme contemptible, yet is

[4] This name is supplied from a journal of the occurrences of the camp in Ireland, during part of the year 1599. Cotton. MSS. Tit. B. xiii.

it sufficient to fighte, in the strengthes of the countrie, withe 50 suche armies as ours.) His Lordship, perceavinge the rebells stay, rallied his horse to theire place; and, the countrie beinge (to apparaunce) plaine and ferme champion, the whole armie seemed to promise to it selfe securitie, and the rebell not presuminge, every man attended only to hasten to the quarters in a speedie marche, wherbie the armie was distracted into an excessive lengthe, and broughte therebie (althoughe into no disorder) yet into some unreadynes. Whiles the armie marched, his Lordship, nothinge beinge more famylier unto him then to observe the order of his owne troupes in theire marche, ascended for this purpose the topp of a hill, whose height discoverethe the whole plaine; and perceavinge from thence that the rebell prepared to give upon the reare of the synister winge of the vaunt-garde, ledd by Marmaduke Constable, Ensigne to Capt. Ellys Jones, he commaunded the Lord of Sowthampton (to whom gathered suddainly a few straglinge horse) to haste to theire succour. In the meane tyme, while the Lord of Sowthampton was occupied in the assuringe of the feate, and endevoringe to drawe the rebell (whiche held him in his strengthe) upon ferme grounde, the Lorde Leiufetennaunt,

not attended upon by more then 6 or 7 horse,[5] presented a chardge to the rebells grosse of horse and foote, whiche was nowe makinge towardes the Earle of Sowthampton, whom theie sawe to be ingadged and to be upon a grounde disadvantadgious for horse; but, perceavinge the resolution of the Lord Leiuftennaunt, who constantly expected them upon the syde of a bogge whiche laie betweene him and them, they made an alt; aboute whiche tyme, the Lord Sowthampton, havinge encreased the nomber of his horse to aboute 24, seeing it lost tyme to indevour to drawe the vermyne from theire strengthe, resolved to chardge them at all disadvauntadge; whiche was performed withe that suddainenesse and resolucion, that the enimie, whiche before was dispersed in skaramouche, had not tyme given him to putt himselfe in order; so that, by the opportunitie of occasion taken by the Earle, and virtue of them that were withe him, (whiche were almoste all noble) there was made a notable slaughter of the rebells. Suche as escaped from theire grosse were intercepted from theire grosse (to whiche theie laboured to retyre) by our foote, sente thither by the Lo. Leiufetenaunt in releife of

[5] 30, says the Journal, before cited.

the horse; manie of whiche, by the too muche forwardnes of the ryders, were there imbogged; by whose infortunate deathe, Capt. Cayen, whose industry hadd adorned him withe muche bothe science and languadge, dyed in the plaine; and Capt. Constable, after a double wounde, saved himselfe by his owne virtue. That whiche the foote did in this parte was not lesse glorious then that of the horse, theire beinge a staunde made by Sir Henrie Poore, Capt. Courtney, and Ensigne Constable, withe 100 againste (at leaste) 400 rebells. But that whiche hinderd the comminge downe of the rebells was the presence of the Lo. Leiufetennaunt, who stoode in a place fitt to offende bothe by direction and nomber, havinge a little before joyned unto him the rearewarde of foote and horse. The rebells, Donogh Hispanoh, and Phelim M^{c}· Pheoghe, mooved either withe the slaughter of theires, whereof dyed more then a 100, (five of whiche were commaunders;) or terrefied withe the order, readinesse, and virtue of our menne, whiche drewe theire rowte, desyred Sir Thomas Davers,[6] who that

[6] This Sir Thomas Davers, son and heir to Sir John, on returning from his travels in 1593, was committed to the Marshalsea for having kissed the Pope's toe.

See Birch's Mem. of Q. Eliz. reign. Vol. I.

daie commaunded the rearegarde of horse, to come out unto his Lordship, upon pretexts whiche his Lordship denied, as a cowrse unfitt for rebells, refusinge to receave them upon other terms then upon submission to her Majesties mercie. The next day folowinge (July 1.) his Lordship vewed the place, where (some weekes before) Phelim M^{c}· Pheoghe, withe 400 foote and 150 horse (on a plaine of unspeakeable advauntadge to our menne) hadd overthrowen Sir Hen. Harington, Knight, who had withe him 450 foote and 60 horse. Theie whiche escaped by flight, or by base hydinge of themselves from the force of the rebelles sworde, were by a Martial Courte condempned (on the 3d) to be hanged on the gallowes; whiche sentence was mittigated by his Lordships mercie, by whiche everie 10th man was sentenced onlie to die; the reste appointed to serve in the army for pioneers.

Thus is my dyscourse, guided by the footesteppes of victorious and successfull journeys, retorned as it were (in a circular revolution) to Dublin, his firste periode, where the Lord Leiuftenaunt nowe remaynethe, meditatinge, as it is thoughte, a seconde journeie.

If in this relation I have ommitted anie thing of note, or noted anie thinge superfluous, either error is ignoraunce, neither judgment: my purpose beinge to discowrse breiflie the journie, withoute either amplifyinge small accidentes, or detractinge from well deservinge persons, whiche, for theire satisfaction, as manie as knowe me will beleeve; and, as for the reste, I desire not to knowe them.

[7] Journall of the L. Lieutenants proceedinges from the xxviijth Aug. tyll the viijth of Sept. 1599.

The 28th of August the Lord Lieutenant departed Dublin with some 100 horsse, and having appoynted all the compagnies of horsse and

[7] This Journal, which serves to render Sir John Harington's more complete, is printed from a MS. in the Cottonian library, [Titus B. xiii.] and has the following indorsement.—"This came with a private lettre to the Queen, wherin the Erl wrote, that the traytour was gon to Odonell to conferr with him, for which he had given him time; and, as the Queen affirmed, he wrote that he shold be able to advertize her of all things within xx dayes."

foote that were to goe into the field to come to the Navan and Kells, he lodged himself at Ardbracken; a howse of the Bishop of Meathes betwixt the 2 townes. And because the compagnies came not in till the 31st, his Lo^p. gave rendezvouz to all the armie on the hill of Clithe, half a mile from Kells towards the Breni, and incamped that night at Castelkeran, 2 miles beyond the hill. Theare also his Lo^p. was fayne to stay one whole day, till his victualls that came from Dredagh overtooke him: but that day he spent in vewing the Lord of Dunsanie's countrie and part of the Breny, and appoynted certayne commissioners to vew all the compagnies of horsse and foote, that he might knowe the true strength of his army, and dispose them in regiments accordingly. This day also his Lo^p. debated it in counsayle, whether it were fitt to place a garrison in the Breny or not? and if in any part of that country? First, because bothe aboute the Cavan, and betwixt it and Kells, the countrie is all wast, so as theare is nothing beyond Kells to be defended, nor to releeve the garrison. Secondly, because all the coumpty of Cavan is so farr within the land, and hath no port or navigable river neerer than Dredagh; so as all the victualls that are sent to a garrison theare, must be carried on garsons back, which

wilbe very difficult, and subject to a greate deale of hazard: the pale being not able to furnish many carriages, and the rebells of those quarters being very strong. And the third and last reason was, that Tirone was lodged in Ferny with an army, and prepared to enter into the pale, and to have burnt and spoyled to the gates of Dublin, as soon as the L. Lieutenant was gon up as high as the Cavan. And therefore it being resolved that Kells should be, this next winter, oure frontire garrison towards the coumpty of Cavan, the L. Lieutenant marched with his army towards Ferny, and lodged the 2 of September betwixt Roberts Towne and Newcastel. The 3rd he went from thense to Ardoff, where he might see Tirone with his forces on a hill, a mile and a half from owre quarter, but a river and a wood betwixt him and us. The L. Liuetenant first imbattelled his army, and then lodged it uppon the hill by the burnt castel of Ardoff, and because theare was no wood for fyre nor cabines but in the valley towards Tirone's quarter, his Lo^p. commaunded a squadron of every compagny to goe fetch wood, and sent 500 foote and 2 compagnies of horsse for their garde. Tirone sent downe some horsse and foote to impeache them and offer skirmish, but after directed them not

to passe the foorde, when he sawe owre men resolved to dispute it. Some skirmish theare was, from one side of the river to the other, but to little purpose; for as they offended us little, so we troubled owre selvs as little with them. The next day the L. Lieutenante marched thorough the playne country to the mill of Louthe, and incamped beyond the river towards Ferny, and Tirone marched thorough the woodes, and lodged in the next wood to us, keeping his skowtes of horsse in sight of owre quarter. At this quarter the L. Lieutenant being driven to stay for a supply of victuall from Dredagh, consulted what was to be donn uppon Tirones armie, or how theire fastnesse might be entred. It was protested by all, that owre army being farr lesse in strength, was not to attempt trenches, and to fight uppon such infinit disadvauntage: but a strong garrison might be placed at Louthe, or some castel thereabouts, to offend the bordering rebells, and defend the whole coumpty of Lowthe; and that since we were theare, we should one day draw owte and offer battayle, with oure 2500 foote to theare 5000, and with oure 300 horsse to theire 700. According to which resolution the L. Lieutenant first viewed Lowthe, and found it utterly unfitt, theare being no fewell to be gotten neere

it, nor any strength to be made in short tyme; and the same day, being the 5th of September, he had a gentleman sent unto him from Tirone, one Henry Hagan, his constable of Dungannon and a man highly favored and trusted of him. This Hagan delivered his masters desire to parly with the L. Lieutenant, which his Lo^p. refused; but told Hagan he would be the next morning on the hill, betwixt both theire campes, and if he would then call to speake with him, he would be found in the head of his troupes. With this answer Hagan returned, and the next morning, being the 6th of September, the L. Lieutenant drew owte 2000 foote and 300 horsse, leaving a colonel with 500 foote and 20 horsse to garde owre quarter and baggage. The L. Lieutenant first imbatteled his men uppon the first great hill he came to, in sight of Tirone; and then marched forward to an other hill, on which Tirones gard of horsse stoode, which they quitted, and theare owre army made good the place till it was neere 3 of the clocke in the afternoone. During which tyme Tirones foote never showed themselves out of the wood, and his horsemen were putt from all the hills which they came uppon betwixt us and the woode: by which occasion some skirmish was amongst the light horsse, in which a French gentleman of the

Earl of Southamptons were all that were hurt of owre side. After this skirmish, a horseman of Tirones called to owres, and delivered this message;—that Tirone would not fight, nor drawe forthe, but desired to speake with the L. Liuetenant, but not betwixt the 2 armies. Whereuppon the L. Lieutenant, towards 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, drew back agayne into his quarter, and after his returne thither, placed a garrison of 500 foote, and 50 horsse, at Niselerathie, half a mile from the mill of Lowthe, where theare is a square castel and a great bawne with a good dytche rounde abowte it, and many thatchd houses to lodge owre men in. The commaundement of the garrison was given to Sir Christopher St. Laurence. The next morning, being the 7th of September, we dislodged and marched to Drumconrogh; but ere we had marched a mile, Hen. Hagan comes agayne to the L. Livetenant, and in the presens of the Earle of Southampton, Sir G. Bourgcher, Sir Waram St. Leger, and diverse other gentlemen, delivered this message:—that Tirone desired her Majesties mercy, and that the L. Livetenant would heare him; which if his Lo^{p}· agreed to, he would gallop abowte and meete his Lo^{p}· at the forde of Bellaclinche, which was on the right hand by the way

which his Lo^{p}· tooke to Drumconrogh. Uppon this message his Lo^{p}· sent 2 gentlemen with H. Hagan to the foorde, to vew the place. They found Tirone theare, but the water so farr owte as they told him they thought it no fitt place to speake in. Whereupon he grew very impatient, and sayed, 'Then I shall despayre ever to speake with him;' and at last, knowing the foorde, found a place, where he, standing up to the horsses belly, might be neere enough to be heard by the L. Liuetenant, though he kept the harde grownde; upon which notice the L. Liuetenant drew a troupe of horsse to the hill, above the foord, and seing Tirone theare alone, went doune alone: at whose comming Tirone saluted his Lo^{p}· with a greate deale of reverence, and they talked neere half an houre, and after went ether of them up to their compagnies on the hills. But within a while, Con O'Neale, Tyrone's base sonn, comes downe and desired from his father, that the L. Livetenant would lett him bring downe some of the principall men that were with him, and that his Lo^{p}· would appoynte a number to come downe on ether side. Whereuppon his Lo^{p}· willed him to bring downe 6, which he did: namely, his brother Cormock, M^{c}· Gennys, M^{c}· Gwire, Ever M^{c}· Cowle, Henry Ovington, and one

Owen, that came from Spayne, but is an Irishe man by birthe. The L. Livetenant seing them at the foorde, went down, accompagnied with the Earle of Southampton, Sir G. Bourgcher, Sir Waram St. Leger, Sir Hen. Davers, Sir Edw. Wingfeild, and Sir Will. Constable. At this second meeting, Tirone and all his compagny, stood up allmost to theire horsses bellies in water, the L. Livetenant with his, uppon hard grounde. And Tirone spake a good while, bare headed, and saluted with a greate deale of respect all those which came downe with the L. Livetenant. After almost half an howres conference, it was concluded that theare should be a meeting of certayne commissioners the next morning, at a foord by Garret Flemings castel, and so they parted: the L. Livetenant marching with his armie to Drumconrogh; Tirone returning to his campe.

The next morning the L. Livetenant sent Sir Waram St. Leger, Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren, and his secretarie, Henry Wotton,[s] with instructions, to the place of

[s] Afterward Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to the republic of Venice, and provost of Eton college; a person famed for his diplomatic skill, his learning, his letters, and his poetry.

meeting. Tirone came himself to the parlie, and sent into Garret Flemings castel 4 principal gentlemen, as pledges for the safetie of our commissioners. In this parlie was concluded a cessation of armes for 6 weeks, and so to continue from 6 weeks to 6 weeks, till May day, or to be broken uppon 14 Days warning. It was also covenanted that such of Tirones confederates as would not declare theire assents in this cessation, should be left by him to be prosecuted by the L. Livetenant, and that restitution should be made for all spoyles within 20 days after notice given: that for performance of the covenants the L. Livetenant should give his word, and Tirone his oathe.

This being concluded on the 8th of September, on the 9th the Lord Livetenant dispersed his army, and went himself to take phisicke at Dredagh; and Tirone retired with all his forces to the hart of his countrie.

He died in 1639, aged 70: and his miscellaneous pieces, after his death, under the title of "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," passed through several impressions. A memoir of the author was prefixed, by a man supereminently qualified to write the lives of worthy men, honest Izaac Walton.

The Queen to the Erl of Essex, in answer to his Lettre with his Journall[9].

ELIZABETH R.

RIGHT trustie and right welbeloved cousin and councellor, we greet you well. By the lettre and the jornall which we have receaved from you, we see a quicke end made of a slowe proceadinge, for anie thinge which our forces shall undertake in those quarters which you pretended to visite, and therefore doubt not but before this time you have ended the charge of the last two thowsand which we yealded for other purposes, and of the three hundred horse onely destined for Ulster services. It remaineth therefore that we return you somewhat of our conceipte, uppon this late accident of your interviewe with the rebels.

We never doubted but that Tyrone whensoever he sawe anie force approache, ether himselfe or anie of his principall partisans, wold in-

[9] From the same MS. collection of papers relative to Ireland. Dr. Birch alludes to such a letter, but has not printed it.

stantly offer a parley, specially with our supreme Gouvernor of that kingdome, having often don it to those who had but subalterne authority, alwayes seaking these cessations with like wordes, like protestations, and uppon such contingents, as we gather these will prove, by your advertisement of his purpose to goe consult with Odonnell. Herein, we must confesse to you that we are doubtfull least the successe wilbe suteable with your owne opinion heretofore, when the same rebels heald like coorse with others that preceaded you. And therefore to come to some aunsweare for the present, it appeareth to us by your jornall, that you and the traitor spake togither halfe an howre alone, and without anie bodyes hearinge; wherein, though we that truste you with our kingdome are farre from mistrusting with a traitor; yet, both for comelines, example, and for your owne discharge, we mervaile you wolde cary it no better, especially when you have seemed in all thinges since your arrivall to be so precise to have good testimony for your actions; as, whensoever there was anie thinge to be don to which our commandement tyed you, it seamed sufficient warrant for you if your fellowe councellors allowed better of other wayes, though your owne reason caryed you to have pursued our direct-

ions against their opinions; to whose conduct if we had meant that Irlande (after all the calamities in which they have wrapped it) should still have been abandoned, (to whose coorses never any could take more exceptions then your selfe,) then was it very superfluous to have sent over such a personage as you are, who had decyphred so well the errors of their proceadinges, being still at hand with us and of our secreatest councell, as it had been one good rule for you amongest others, in moste thinges to have varyed from their resolutions, especially when you had our opinion and your owne to boote.

Furthermore, we cannot but muse that you shoulde recite that circumstance of his beinge sometime uncouvered, as if that were mueh in a rebell, when our person is so represented, or that you can thinke that ever anie parlee (as you call it) was uppon lesse termes of inequallity then this, when you came to him and he kept the depth of the brooke between him and you; in which sorte he proceaded not with other of our ministers, for he came over to them. So as never coulde anie man observe greater forme of greatenes then he hath don, nor more to our dishonour, that a traitour must be so farre from submission, as he must have a cessation

granted because he may have time to advise whether he shoulde goe further or no with us. And thus much for the forme. For you have dealt so sparingly with us in the substance, by advertising us onely, at first, of the halfe howres conference alone, but not what passed on either side; by letting us also knowe you sent commissioners, without shewing what they had in charge; as we can not tell (but by divination) what to thinke may be the issue of this proceadinge. Onely this we are sure of, (for we see it in effect,) that you have prospered so ill for us by your warfare, as we can not but be very jealous least you shoulde be as well overtaken by the treatie:—For ether they did not ill that had the like meetinges before you, or you have don ill to keape them companie in their errors; for no actions can more resemble others, that have been before condemned, then these proceadinges of yours at this time with the rebels. For you must consider that as we sent you into Irlande, an extraordinary person, with an army exceading anie that ever was payde there by anie prince for so longe time out of this realme, and that you ever supposed that we were forced to all this by the weake proceadinges even in this point of the treaties and pacifications. So, if this parlee shall not produce such a conclusion,

as this intollerable charge may receave present and large abatement, then hath the managinge of our forces not onely proved dishonorable and wastefull, but that which followeth is like to prove perilous and contemptible. Consider then what is like to be the end, and what wilbe fitte to builde on. To truste this traytor uppon oath, is to truste a divill uppon his religion. To truste him uppon pledges is a meare illusorye, for what pietye is there among them that can tye them to rule of honestie for it selfe, who are onely bound to their owne sensualityes, and respect onely private utilitye. And therefore, whatsoever order you shall take with him of laying aside of armes, banishinge of strangers, recognition of superiority to us, or renouncinge of rule over our rights,[2] promising restitution of spoyles, disclaiming from Onealeshippe, or anie other such like conditions, which were tollerable before he was in his overgrowen pride, by his owne successe against our power, which of former times was terrible to him: yet unlesse he yeald to have garrisons planted in his own countrye to master him, to deliver Oneales sonnes, (whereof the detayning is most dishonorable,) and to come over to us personally

[2] MS. vriaghts?

here, we shall doubte you doe but peece up a hollowe peace, and so the end prove worse then the beginninge. And therefore, as we well approve your owne voluntary profession, (wherein you assure us that you will conclude nothinge till you have advertised us, and heard our pleasure,) so doe we absolutely commande you to continew and performe that resolution. Allowinge well that you heare him what he proffers, draw him as high as you can, and advertise us what conditions you wolde advise us to affoorde him, and what he is like to receave: yet not to passe your worde for his pardon, nor make anie absolute contract for his conditions, till you doe particularly advertise us by writinge, and receave our pleasure hereafter for your further warrant and authority in that behalfe. For whatsoever we doe, ought to be well weyed in such a time, when the worlde will suspect that we are glad of anie thinge out of weaknes, or apt to pardon him out of mistrust of our power to take due revenge on him: considering that all which now is yealded to on our parte, succeadeth his victoryes and our disastres. In our lettres of the fourteenth[3] of this month to

[3] This letter of the 14th Sept. which Moryson terms "a *sharp* one," was printed in his Itinerary, B. I. Ch. i. Pt. 2.

you and that councell, we have written those thinges that are fitte for them to aunsweare and understande: and therefore we will expect what they can say to all the partes of that lettre, with which our pleasure is that they be fully acquainted, aswell for your discharge an other time, if you vary from their opinions, (when we direct otherwise,) as also because we wold be glad to receave their answeare aswell as yours.

Given under our signett, at Nonsuch, the xvijth day of September, 1599, in the xljth yeare of our raigne.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved cousen and counsellour, the Earle of Essex, our Lieutenant and Governor-General of our realme of Irlande.

Sir John Harington to Sir Anthony Standen, Knight.

Sir,

It is not a lake of Lethe, that makes us forget our friends, but it is the lack of good messengers; for who will write, when his letters shall be opened by the way, and construed at pleasure, or rather displeasure?—Some used this in Ireland, that perhaps have repented it since in England. I came to court in the very heat and height of all displeasures: after I had been there but an hour, I was threatened with the Fleet; I answered poetically, "that coming so late from the land-service, I hoped that I should not be prest to serve in her Majesty's fleet in Fleet-street." After three days every man wondered to see me at liberty; but though, in conscience, there was neither rhyme nor reason to punish me for going to see Tyrone; yet if my rhyme had not been better liked of then my reason, (I mean when I gave the young Baron of Dungannon an Ariosto,[4]) I think I had lain

[4] See p. 249, supra.

by the heels for it. But I had this good fortune, that, after four or five days, the Queen had talked of me, and twice talked to me, though very briefly. At last she gave me a full and gracious audience in the withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, where herself being accuser, judge, and witness, I was cleared, and graciously dismissed. What should I say! I seemed to myself, for the time, like St. Paul, rapt up in the third heaven, where he heard wordes not to be uttered by men; for neither must I utter what I then heard: until I come to heaven, I shall never come before a statelier judge again, nor one that can temper majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour, better than her Highness did at that time. In the discourse you were not unspoken of her. You shall hear ere long, but not by writing, for I will send a man. Thus much I adventure to write by this boy; but I trust him with no messages. I omitted no opportunity of mentioning and gracing, the best I could, all my friends while I staid at London. In December I came hither, but since, I hear little and do nothing but sit by a good fire, and feed my lean horses, and hearken for good news, but hear none, save the certain expectation of peace with Spain.

My Lord Keeper[5] is a widdower. Doctor *Eaton*[6] hath *eaten* the bishoprick of Ely; all the clergy wish him choaked with it. Mr. Edmondes[7] hath been with the Dutchess of Burgundy, and well used; and she speaketh much honour of the Queen, which moves great hope of a league. You wonder I write nothing of *one*:—believe me I hear nothing; but *he*[8] is where he was, and I think must be, till these great businesses be concluded. Let this suffice from a private country knight, that lives among clouted shoes, in his frize jacket and galloshes. and who envies not the great commanders of Ireland, but hereby commends himself to them.

Your true friend,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Kelston, near Bath,
Feb. 20, 1600.

[5] Sir Thomas Egerton; created Baron of Ellesmere in 1603, and Viscount Brackley in 1616. Ob. 1617.

[6] Or Heaton; consecrated bishop of Ely in the end of the year 1599, according to Dr. Godwin. See vol. ii. p. 106.

[7] Afterward Sir Thomas; ambassador to the court of France, &c.

[8] The Earl of Essex may be here alluded to.

Sir Robert Sydney[9] to Sir John Harington, 1600.

Worthy Knyght,

YOUR presente to the Queen was well accepted of; she did much commend your verse, nor did she less praise your prose. Your Irysh business is less talked of at her Highness's palace, for all agree that you did go and do as you were bidden; and, if the great commanders went not where they ought, how shoud the captains do better withouten order?—But, mum, my worthy knight; I crave all pardon for touching your galled back.

The Queen hath tasted your dainties, and saith you have marvellous skill in cooking of good fruits. If I can serve you in your northern suit, you may commande me: I hear you

[9] Robert Sidney, second son of Sir Henry Sidney, and younger brother of Sir Philip; created Lord Sidney in 1603, and Earl of Leicester in 1618. Ob. 1626. See Birch's Memoirs of Q. Eliz. and Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, prefixed to Letters of State, &c.

have been to those parts, and taken possession of Harrington Parke. Our lawyers say your title is well grounded, in conscience, but that strict law doth not countenance your recoveringe those landes of your ancestors, as the Queen's ryghte is somewhat extinguished by your cosins Stephen and James, who left issue; and hereby it comyth not straight to the Queen, whose good will towarde you is ever apparent. I have seen ancient recordes, wherein it appeareth, that Sir James Harington, slain in Bosworth field, did give by wyll all these landes to his brother, Sir Robert,[2] who was attainded by Hen. VIIth, for siding with the Yorkists. Our Queen's Father did grant them by reversion to your father; and so far I learn from Master Sherwood, a cunning lawyer: what I can do herein I will to serve you. Visit your friendes often, and please the Queen by all you can, for all the great lawyers do much fear her displeasure. I know not how matters may prosper with your noble commander, the Lord Essex; but must say no more at this time of

[2] This must have been the son of Sir Thomas Harington, who, with his father Sir Robert, was slain at Wakefield, in 1460; but no mention is made of Sir James, in the family pedigree. Harl. MS. 1549.

writing. My sister beareth this in privacy, and therefore so safe; but I will not trust to ill fortune which crosseth good purpose, and leadeth oft to danger. My malady is much abated. My wife hath been my doctor, my nurse, my friend, and my sovereign cure. I supp broth from the Queens kitchen, and eat of her Majesties sweet cakes, which do nourish my poor blood, and cherish good humours. I do read "Ariosto," and commend the translator to all friends, which you mark as the best good will I can shew you.

Now you have left the sword in Ireland, and taken to the plough in England; let me have proofs of your employ, and send me verses when you can. I do see the Queen often; she doth wax weak since the late troubles, and Burleigh's death doth often draw tears from her goodly cheeks; she walketh out but little, meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in private to her best friends. The Scottish matters do cause much discourse, but we know not the true grounds of state business, nor venture farther on such ticklish points. Her Highness hath done honour to my poor house by visiting me, and seemed much pleased at what we did to please her. My son made her a fair speech,

to which she did give most gracious reply. The women did dance before her, whilst the cornets did salute from the gallery; and she did vouchsafe to eat two morsels of rich comfit cake, and drank a small cordial from a gold cup. She had a marvelous suit of velvet borne by four of her first women attendants in rich apparel; two ushers did go before, and at going up stairs she called for a staff, and was much wearied in walking about the house, and said she wished to come another day. Six drums and six trumpets waited in the court, and sounded at her approach and departure. My wife did bear herself in wondrous good liking, and was attired in a purple kyrtle, fringed with gold; and myself, in a rich band and collar of needle-work, and did wear a goodly stuff of the bravest cut and fashion, with an under body of silver and loops. The Queen was much in commendation of our appearances, and smiled at the ladies, who in their dances often came up to the stepp on which the seat was fixed to make their obeysance, and so fell back into their order again. The younger Markham did several gallant feats on a horse before the gate, leaping down and kissing his sword, then mounting swiftly on the saddle, and passed a lance with much skill. The day well nigh

spent, the Queen went and tasted a small beverage that was set out in divers rooms where she might pass; and then in much order was attended to her palace, the cornets and trumpets sounding through the streets. One knyght (I dare not name) did say, the Queen had done me more honour than some that had served her better; but envious tongues have venomd shafts: and so I reste in peace with what hath happened, and God speed us all! my worthie Knight.

I wish you in health and good cheer, and when fortune doth favour, I hope to see you this way and taste wit, and you shall taste our wine. Thus I will lay down my quill, which seldom wearys in a friendly tale; but achs, and pains, and sleep, and haste, do all conspire against further matter of writing. Ever remaining, in kind remembrance,

Your Friend,

Rob. Sydney.

Sir John Harington to Sir Hugh Portman, Knight.

My honoured Friend,

I HUMBLIE thank you for that venison I did not eat, but my wife did it much commendation. For six weeks I left my oxen and sheep, and venturd to court, where I find many lean-kinded beastes, and some not unhorned. Much was my comfort in being well received, notwithstanding it is an ill hour for seeing the Queen. The madcaps are all in riot, and much evil threatend. In good soothe I feard her Majestie more than the rebel Tyrone, and wishd I had never received my Lord of Essex's honor of knighthood. She is quite disfavourd, and unattird, and these troubles waste her muche. She disregardeth every costlie cover that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and succory potage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the ladies. I had a sharp message from her brought by my Lord Buckhurst, namely thus, "Go tell that witty fellow, my godson, to get home; it is no season now to foole it here." I liked this

as little as she dothe my knighthood,[3] so tooke to my bootes and returned to the plow in bad weather. I must not say much, even by this trustie and sure messenger; but the many evil plots and designs have overcome all her Highness' sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage. My Lord Buckhurst is much with her, and few else since the city[4] business; but the dangers are over, and yet she always keeps a sword by her table. I obtained a short audience at my first coming to courte, when her Highness told me, "If ill counsel had brought me so far from home, she wish'd Heaven might marr that fortune which she had

[3] The Queen's dissatisfaction at the *Irish* order of knighthood conferred on Captain Harington, seems to have been a matter of much notoriety. Rowland Whyte, in a letter to Sir Robert Sydney, dated Nov. 10, 1599, thus speaks of it: "Sir John Harington is newly arrived out of Ireland, and the Queen is offended with him for going for his *knighthood*. He was with Tirone in the company of Sir William Warren, and reports him to be very strong. Sir Jeffrey Fenton is directed from hence to treat with him, but this *new knight's* opinion is, that he will either not heare him, or not beleve any thing from any but my Lord of Essex." Letters and Memorials of State, published by Arthur Collins, 1746.

[4] The insurrection of Essex, &c.

mended." I made my peace in this point, and will not leave my poor castle of Kelston, for fear of finding a worse elsewhere, as others have done. I will eat Aldborne rabbits, and get fish (as you recommend) from the man at Curry-Rival; and get partridge and hares when I can, and my venison where I can; and leave all great matters to those that like them better than myself. Commend me to your ladie and all other ladies that ever heard of me. Your books are safe, and I am in liking to get Erasmus for your entertainmente.

JOHN HARINGTON.

From Kelston, Oct. 9.
1601.

I coud not move in any suit to serve your neighbour B. such was the face of things; and so disorderd is all order, that her Highness hathe worne but one change of raiment for many days, and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of all about her, more especially our sweete Lady Arundel,[5] that *Venus plus quam venusta.*—

[5] This, as Mr. Malone intimates, may have been the wife of Sir Matthew Arundel, or of Thomas, Lord Arundel of War-

Sir John Harington to his Lady; Dec. 27th, 1602.

Sweet Mall,

I HEREWITH send thee, what I woud God none did know, some ill bodings of the realme and its welfare. Oure deare Queene, my royale godmother, and this state's natural mother, dothe now bear shew of human infirmitie, too faste for that evil which we shall get by her dethe, and too slowe for that good which shee shall get by her releasement from pains and miserye.

Deare Mall, how shall I speake what I have seene, or what I have felt?—Thy good silence in these matters emboldens my pen. For, thanks to the swete god of silence! thy lips do not wanton out of discretion's path, like the many gossipping dames we coud name, who lose their husband's fast hold in good friends,

dour, who, though not created a baron till James came to the throne, was Count of the empire before; and his wife might be styled *Lady*.

rather than hold fast their own tongues. Nowe I will truste thee with greate assurance, and whilste thou doste broode over thy young ones in the chamber, thou shalte read the doinges of thy greiving mate in the cowrte.

I finde some lesse mindfull of whate they are soone to lose, than of what they may perchance hereafter get. Nowe, on my owne parte, I cannot blote from my memorie's table,[6] the goodnesse of our Sovereigne Ladie to me, even (I will saie) before borne; her affectione to my mother who waited in privie chamber, her betterring the state of my father's fortune, (which I have, alass! so much worsted,) her watchings over my youthe, her likinge to my free speech, and admiration of my little learninge and poesy, which I did so muche cultivate on her commande, have rootede such love, suche dutyfull remembraunce of her princelie virtues, that to turne askante from her condition withe tearlesse eyes, woud staine and foule the springe and founte of gratitude.

[6] i. e. tablet: so Shakspeare, in Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 5.

——"from the *table of my memory*
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records."

It was not manie daies since I was bidden to her presence. I bleste the happy momente; and founde her in moste pitiable state. She bade the archbishope aske me if I had seene Tyrone? I replied, with reverence, that "I had seene him withe the Lord Deputie." She lookede up, with much choler and greife in her countenance, and saide, "Oh, nowe it mindeth me that you was *one* who sawe this manne *elsewhere*:"—and hereat, she droppede a teare, and smote her bosome. She helde in her hande a goldene cuppe, whiche she often put to her lippes; but, in soothe, her hearte seemethe too fulle to lacke more fillinge. This sighte movede me to thinke on whate paste in Irelande; and I truste she did not lesse thinke on *some* who were busier there than myselfe. She gave me a message to the Lord Deputie, and bade me come to the chamber at seven o clocke. Hereat some who were aboute her did marvel, as I do not holde so highe place as those she did not chuse to do her commandes. Deare Mall, if I gette no profitte, I shall gette some envie, and this businesse maye turne to some accounte withe the Lord Deputie. Her Majestie enquirede of some matters whiche I had written; and as she was pleasede to note my fancifulle braine, I was not unheedfull to feede her humoure, and

reade some verses, whereat she smilede once, and was pleasede to saie ;—" When thou doste feele creepinge tyme at thye gate, these fooleries will please thee lesse; I am paste my relishe for suche matters: thou seeste my bodilie meate dothe not suite me well; I have eaten but one ill tastede cake since yesternighte." She rated moste grievouslie, at noone, at some who minded not to bringe uppe certaine matters of accounte. Several menne have been sente to, and when readie at hande, her Highnesse hathe dismissede in anger; but who, dearest Mall, shall saye, that "*youre Highnesse hathe forgotten.*"

I was honourede at dinner with the archbishoppe and several of the churche pastors, where I did finde more corporeal than spiritual refreshmente, and though oure ill state at cowrte maie, in some sorte, overcaste the countenance of these apostolical messengers; yet were some of them well anointed with the oyl of gladnesse on Tuesdaie paste.[7] Hereof thou shalt in some sorte partake. My Lorde of Salisburie had seizen his tenantes corne and haye, with sundrie husbandrie matters, for matters of money due to his lordshippes estate: hereat the aggrievede

[7] i. e. last.

manne made suite to the bishoppe, and requestede longer time and restitution of his goodes:—"Go, go, (saithe the bishoppe) I heare ill reporte of thie livinge, and thou canst not crave mercie; thou comeste not to churche service, and haste not receivede confirmation; I commande thee to attend my ordinance and be confirmed in thy faithe at Easter nexte cominge."—"I crave your lordshippes forgivenesse, (quothe the manne,) in goode soothe I durste not come there, for as youre lordshippe hathe lain your hande on all my goodes, I thinke it full meete to take care of my heade!"—Suche was parte of oure discourse at dinner. So thou seeste, sweete Mall, although the bishoppes hande was heavy, oure pesantes head was not weake, and his lordshippe said he woude forego his paymente.

Nexte monthe I will see thie swete face, and kiss my boys and maids, which I praie thee not to omitte on my accounte. Send me up, by my manne Combe, my Petrarche. Adeiu, swete Mall.

I am thine ever lovinge

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir John Hareyington of Bathe, in the County of Somerset, sent to his Majestie a New Yeeres Guift[8] at Christmass 1602, by Captaine William Hunter.

1. A DARK lantern, made of fowre mettels, gold, silver, brass, and iron.
2. The top of it was a crowne of pure gold, which allso did serve to cover a perfume pan.
3. Thear was within it a shield of silver embost, to give a reflexion to the light, on one side of which
4. Was the sunn, the moone, and vii starrs.

[8] This *laterna secreta* was evidently fabricated at a moment when the lamp of life grew dim in the frame of Queen Elizabeth, and she began to "bear shew of human infirmitie." See p. 320. It is curious as a relique of court-craft, but it displays a 'darkness visible' in the character of our politic knight, and proves that he was an early worshipper of the regal sun which rose in the north, though his own "notes and private remembrances" would seem to indicate a different disposition. See p. 180.

5. On the other side, the story of the birth and passion of Christ, as it is fownd graved by a king of Scots that was prisoner in Nottingham, in a valt called to this day the king of Scotts prison.[9]
6. The word was that of the good theife—

> " Lord, remember me when thou comest in thie kingdom."
> *Domine, memento mei cum veneris in regnum.*

And a little beneath,

> *Post crucem, lucem.*

7. The wax candle, to be removed at pleasure to the top, and so to make a candlestick, stoode in a foot of brass.
8. The snuffers, and all the outside of the lantern, of iron and steele plate.

[9] David II. king of Scots, is reported to have been confined in Nottingham castle, and during that confinement to have sculptured the passion of our Saviour on the walls of his apartment: but Camden records the tradition, without giving it much credence, and Stow does not contribute to its establishment as an historical fact. See Deering's History of the Town, and Thoroton's of the County, of Nottingham.

9. The perfume in a little silver globe, fild with musk and awmber, of all which and their applications, these ensuing verses were written.

VERSES OF THE LANTERNE.

Cum Phœbum sapiens stulti simulator adiret,
Et dare discuperet munera digna deo:
Ille, cava grandem cœlans in arundine gemmam
Visus erat donans magna, dedisse nihil.
Inde catus doctore deo votoque potitus,
Fert properata tibi basia magna parens.
Maxime rex! merito nobis et magnus Apollo
Talia *Misacmi* respice dona pii;
Et licet hæc veniant ficto sub nomine dona,
Non ficti testes forsan amoris erunt.
Argentum ferro tegitur lux clauditur umbra,
Debita conspicue sola corona patet,
Historia in niveo describitur optima scuto,
Historia a proavo non male nota tuo;
Namque Notinghamio Bruso reclusus in antro
Sculpserat hoc artis tum pietatis opus:
Nec seriem mirum est doctam si novit ad unguem,
Unguibus in muris scalpserat ante suis.
Plura sed invenies nostris latitantia nugis,
Quarum etiam placidus forsitan usus erit.
Sæcula bis duo sunt totidem distinctis metallis,
Quodque ex his aurum denotat opto tibi,

Sit minimus ferri vel perbrevis usus, at auri,
Aeris et argenti copia quanta voles.
Lucida stellarum, lunæque et solis imago
Sydera conatis spondet amica tuis;
Extinguet forceps ceræque superflua scindet
Extingues hostes sic minuesque feros;
Cæreus ecce pii, regisque emblema potentis
Lumina dans aliis liquitur igne suo.
Fas mihi, quem dulcem laterna expirat odorem,
Reginæ et natis assimilare tuis,
Illa tibi dulces fœcunda aspiret amores,
Illaque te multa prole beata beet:
Denique succedens terrestri æterna corona
Certa sed ambobus sera venire queat.

When that wise counterfyt to Phœbus went,
And would a guift of price to him present;
Hyding a jewel ritch in hollow cane,
No guift was seene, a great guift yet was tane:
And thus, dyvinely taught, he gat his wishes,
Giving to mother earth well hastned kisses.
Excellent prince! and our Apollo rising,
Accept a present sent in like disguising:[2]
And though it com in fayned name unknowne,
Yet love unfayned may therein be showne.
Silver is closed in steele, in darkness light,
Only the crowne apparent stands in sight.
In argent sheild are sacred storyes showne,
Storyes to your great ancestor well knowne,

[2] Under the disguised name of *Misacmos*, which he assumed in the Metamorphosis of Ajax.

Who shut in Notingham and kept apart,
Grav'd there this godly monument of art.
This storie at his fingers ends he knew,
For with his fingers ends the same he drew.
Eke other fancies lurk in this our present,
The use and sence whereof is not unpleasant.
Four mettalls ages four resemble doe,
Of which the golden age God send to you!
Of steele, I wish small use and little lasting,
Of brass, gold, silver, plenty never wasting.
The sunn, moone, starrs, and those celestial fiers
Foretell the heavens shall prosper your desiers:
And as the snuffers quench the light and snuff,
Soe may you quench those take your acts in snuff.
The candel, the emblem of a virtuous king,
Doth wast his life to others light to bring.
To your fair queen, and sweet babes I presume
To liken the sweet savor and perfume.
She, send sweet breathed love into your brest,
She, blest with fruitful issue, make you blest.
Lastly, lett heavnly crownes theis crownes succeede,
Sent sure to both, to neither sent with speed.

OF THE PICTURE.

Prima salutatam monstrat pictura Mariam,
Cui Gabriel fœlix nuncius inquit ave!
Viserit ut prægnans prægnantem proxima narrat,
Sensit et haud natus, gaudia nata puer.

Tertia ut illœsa de virgine natus Iesus,
Veraque jam mater veraque virgo manet.
Et sequitur jussu tum circumcisio legis,
Solus adimplesti hanc O homo nate deo,
Postea te alloquitur Moses comitatus Elia
Turbat ad hæc sensum visio Petre tuum:
Sancta salutifero sudarunt sanguine membra
Cum peccata ingens non sua sensit onus,
Scinditur et flagris nostri dum flagrat amore,
Et veneranda tulit verbera dura cutis,
Spinea tum nudo capiti est aptata corona
Hostibus, ah magis hæc apta corona tuis!
Hinc humeris lignum laceris portare coactus
Sustinuit propriæ bajulus esse crucis,
Inque crucem medius binis latronibus actus
Uni perpetuæ causa salutis erat.
Morte triumphata triduo infernoque revixit,
Inde resurgendum credimus esse pii.
Tum quoque conspicuus cœlos ascendit in altos
Unde reversurus judicis ora geret.
Denique discipulos paracletum mittit ad omnes,
Doctaque non notos lingua dat ante sonos,
Creditur et mater cœlis assumpta supernis
Supra virgineos sola beata choros:
Da mihi finitæ O post tempora vitæ
Illi cum sanctis dicere semper ave!

The blessed virgins picture first hath place,
To whome thus Gabriel sayth, haile full of grace!
Next, she her cosen visits, at whose voice
The babe unborn did sensibly rejoice.

Thirdly, is Christe born of a maide unstayned,
And mother true a virgin true remayned.
Fowrthly, hees circumcisde by laws decree,
Those laws that no man ere fullfild but hee.
Moses, Elias, met him, after that
Which sight made Peeter speake he knewe not what.
Then followth th' agony and bloudy sweat,
Feeling the burden of our sins so great.
Seavnthly, for spite of clothes he was bestripped,
And, loving us, for us he then was whipped.
Then put they on his head a crown of thornes,
Themselves much fitter subjects for such scornes.
They forced him, in sight of lewde beeholders,
To carry his own cross on his own showlders:
They hangd him on each side a malefactor,
But he to th' one did prove a benefactor.
At three daies end he broute to full subjection
Both hell and death, and taught us resurrection.
Then playne in sight he did to heaven ascend,
And will return a judg this age to end.
Then was the comforter to com discerned,
And men spake with the tongues they never lerned.
And after all theise things, it is presumed
The blessed virgin was to heaven assumed.
God graunt me, when my life hath run the race,
To say to her, with saints,—Haile full of grace!

THE FAREWEL TO HIS MUSE.

Musa jocosa meos solari assueta dolores,
Et mediis mecum ludere docta malis,
Quæ peregrinantem comitata et castra sequentem,
Ausa mihi in tumidis et comes ire fretis;
Quæ me ruricolam tractantem et aratra sequuta es,
Nec poteris thalamis abstinuisse meis.
Te nunc Ætonæ, namque hinc es nata relinquo
Filius hic hæres te colet usque meus.
Nunc juvet oblitis meditari seria ludis
Hos annos animum hunc Musa severa decet.
Jam pro fictitiis mihi gaudia vera relucent
Cum regem dominum jam resaluto meum.
Jam dabitur veras audire ac reddere voces
Nostra sat est pietas dissimulata diu.
Quod reliquum est ævi patriæ patriæque parenti,
Dedico nec levibus jam vacat hora jocis.
Huic mea mens soli, mea mens huic semper adhæret,
Hunc solum hunc semper promeruisse paro:
Seu libet Hispano bella immovere potenti
Justa sub invicto principe bello sequar;
Seu pacem mavult antiquaque fœdera jungi
Quam cupidus pacis nuncius ire velim;
Sive satis domitis leges præscribere Hibernis
In me consilium sentiet esse pium.

Digna vel Augusto struxisse palatia rege
Ah, nimis his operis ingeniosus eram!
Seu velit infames patriæ punire tyrannos
Tela tyrannorum tendet ad ora manus;
Sive suæ interdum sacræ dare tempora musæ,
Lector et auditor non malus esse queam.
Quid velit incertum est sed quod velit impiger illud
Exequar hoc certum est. Musa jocosa vale!

Sweet wanton Muse, that, in my greatest griefe,
Wast wont to bring me solace and reliefe.
Wonted by sea and land to make me sporte,
Whether to camp or court I did resorte:
That at the plow hast been my wellcom guest,
Yea to my wedlock bed hast boldly prest;
At Eton now (where first we met) I leave thee,
Heere shall my sonn and heire of me receave thee.
Now to more serious thoughts my soule aspyers,
This age, this minde, a Muse awsteare requiers.
Now for those fayned joyes true joyes do spring,
When I salute my sovraigne lord and king.
Now we may tell playn truth to all that ask,
Our love may walke bare-faste without a mask.
My future age to realme and king I vow,
I may no time for wanton toyes alow.
Ever I wish, and only, him to serve,
Only his love ever I would deserve.
If he be pleasd war to proclayme with Spaine,
With such a prince I'le follow wars agayne.
If his great wisdome th' auncient peace renews,
How fayn of peace would I reporte the news.

List he give lawes to th' Irish, now well tamed,
I could give sound advises, and unblamed.
To build some statelie house is his intention,
Ah, in this kinde I had too much invention!
Will he suppress those that the land oppress,
A foe to them, myselfe I still profess.
Liste he to write or study sacred writte;
To heere, reade, learn, my breeding made me fitt.
What he commaunds, I'le act without excuse,
That's full resolvd: farewell, sweet wanton Muse!

THE WELCOME TO THE KING.

Come tryumph, enter church, court, citty, towne,
Heere James the sixt, now James the first, proclaymed,
See how all harts ar heald, that erst wer maymed,
The peere is pleasd, the knight, the clarck, the clowne.
The mark at which the malecontent had aymed,
Is mist succession stablisht in the crowne,
Joy protestant, papist be now reclaymed.
Leave, puritan, your supercillious frowne,
Joyn voice, hart, hand, all discord be disclaymed.
Be all one flock, by one great sheppard guided:
No forren wolf can force a fould so fenced,
God for his house a *Steward* hath provided
Right to dispose what erst was wrong dispenced,
But with a loyall love and long præpenced,

With all, yet more then all, rejoyce do I,
To conster *I am—es primus et non vi.*

(Authentic Copy[3] from the original in the University Library Edinburgh, March 26, 1802. J. Leyden.)

King James to Sir John Harington; in return for his New-Years gift.

To our Trusty and Well-belovede Sir Johne Haringeton, Knight.

Ryhte trustie and welbelovite frinde, we greete yow heartily weill. We have raissavit your *lanterne*, with the *poesie* yow sende us be owr servande Williame Hunter, gevinge yow hairtie thankes; as lykewayse for yowr laste letter, quhawin we persaife the continuance of yowr loyall affectione to us and yowr servyce: we shall not be unmyndefule to extende owr princelie favoure heirafter to yow and yowr perticulers, at all guid occasions. We committe yow to God.

James *R.*

From owr cowrte at Hallyruid Howse, April the thyrde, 1603.

[3] The Editor is indebted to Mr. Professor Dalzell for permitting this transcript to be made, and to Dr. Leyden for making it.

Sir John Harington to Lord Thomas Howarde;[4] [April] 1603.

My Lorde,

Touchynge our matters here, and what hathe fallen oute sithence you departede, maye perchance not be unpleasante to you to heare. Manie have beene the mad caps rejoicinge at oure new Kynges cominge, and who (in good trothe) darede not have set forthe their good affection to him a monthe or two agoe: but, alas! what availethe truthe, when profite is in queste? Yow were true and leige bondsman to her late Highnesse, and felte her sweete bounties in full force and good favour. Nor did I my poor selfe unexperience her love and kyndness on manie occasions; but I cannot forbeare remembringe my dread at her frownes in the Iryshe affaire, when I followede my generall (and what shoude a captaine doe better?) to Englande a little before his tyme. If Essex had

[4] Probably the second son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was created Earl of Suffolk, July 21, 1603; succeeded Salisbury in the office of Lord High Treasurer, and died May 28, 1626. See Lodge's Illustr. iii. 386.

met his "appoyntede tyme" (as Davide saithe) to die, it had fared better, than to meet his follie and his fate too.

But enoughe of olde tales; a new Kynge will have new soldiers, and God knowethe what men they will be. One saith he will serve him by daie, another by nighte; the women (who love to talke as they lyke) are for servynge him bothe daye and nyghte. It pleasethe me to thynke I am not under their commande, whoe offer so bountyfullie what perchance they woulde be gladde to receive at others handes: but I am a cripple, and not made for sportes in newe cowrtes. Sir Robert Cary[5] was prime in his Scottysh intelligence of the Queenes deathe. Some will saye that bad tydinges travel faste; but I maye call Sir Roberts no ill borden to Edenborrow.—St. Paul hathe saide, that "the race is not alwaie givene to the swyfte:"—I dowte Sir Robert will give the Sainte the lie, for he is like to get both *race* and *prize*, and (as fame goethe) creepethe not a little into favoure.

[5] Son to Lord Hunsdon. His own account of this acceptable service, for which he was immediately made a gentleman of the bed-chamber to King James, is inserted in Vol. II. of Queen Elizabeth's Progresses.

I am now settynge forthe for the countrie, where I will read Petrarch, Ariosto, Horace, and suche wise ones. I will make verses on the maidens, and give my wine to the maisters; but it shall be such as I do love, and do love me. I do muche delight to meete my goode freindes, and discourse of getting rid of our foes. Each nighte do I spende, or muche better parte thereof, in counceil with the aunciente examples of lerninge; I con over their histories, their poetrie, their instructions, and thence glean my own proper conducte in matters bothe of merrimente or discretion; otherwyse, my goode Lorde, I ne'er had overcome the rugged pathes of Ariosto, nor wonne the highe palme of glorie, which you broughte unto me, (I venture to saie it) namely, our late Queenes approbation, esteeme, and rewarde. Howe my poetrie maye be relishde in tyme to come, I will not hazard to saie. Thus muche I have livede to see, and (in good soothe) feel too, that honeste prose will never better a mans purse at cowrte; and, had not my fortune been in *terra firma*, I might, even for my verses, have daunced bare foot with Clio and her school-fellowes untill I did sweat, and then have gotten nothinge to slake my thirste, but a pitcher of Helicons well. E'en let the beardless god Apollo dip his own

chin in such drinke; a haire of my face shall have better entertainmente.

I have made some freindes to further my suite of favour withe the Kynge, and hope you will not be slacke in forwardeing my beinge noticede in proper season: but, my goode Lorde, I will walke faire, tho a cripple; I will copie no mans steps so close as to treade on his heel; if I go at all, it shall be verily uprightely, and shall better my selfe in thus saieing, *Sequar—sed passibus æquis.*——Nowe, my Lorde, farewell! and truste his worde who venturethe to honour himselfe in the name of

Youre friende,

JOHN HARINGTON.

When you can fairely get occasion, I entreate a worde touchynge your doinges at Cowrte. I will pointe oute to you a special conveyance, for, in these tymes, discretion must stande at oure doores, and even at our lippes too. Goode caution never comethe better, than when a man is climbinge; it is a pityfull thinge to sett a wronge foote, and, insteade of raisinge ones heade, to falle to the grounde and showe ones baser partes.

Sir John Harington to Dr. John Still, the Bishoppe of Bathe and Welles. 1603.

My Worthie Lorde.

I HAVE lived to see that damnable rebel Tir-Owen broughte to Englande, curteouslie favourede, honourede, and well likede. Oh! my Lorde, what is there which dothe not prove the inconstancie of wordlie matters! How did I labour after that knave's destruction! I was callede from my home by hir Majesties commaund, adventurede perils by sea and lande, endurede toil, was near starvinge, eat horse-fleshe at Munster; and all to quell that man, who nowe smilethe in peace at those that did hazarde their lives to destroy him. Essex tooke me to Irelande; I had scante tyme to putte on my bootes; I followede withe good wyll, and did returne wyth the Lorde Leiutenante to meet ill wyll; I did beare the frownes of hir that sente me; and, were it not for hir good lyking, rather than my good deservynges, I had been sore discountenancede indeede. I obeyede in

goinge wythe the Earle to Irelande, and I obeyede in comynge wythe him to Englande. But what did I encounter thereon? Not his wrathe, but my gracious Soveraigns ill humour. What did I advantage? Why, trulie, a *knighthood;* whych had been better bestowede by hir that sente me, and better sparede by him that gave it. I shall never put oute of remembraunce hir Majestie's displeasure:—I enterd her chamber, but she frownede and saiede, "What, did the foole brynge *you* too? Go backe to your businesse." In soothe, these wordes did sore hurte hym who never hearde soche before; but heaven gave me more comforte in a daie or twoe after; hir Majestie did please to aske me concernynge our northerne jorneyes, and I did so well quite me of the accounte, that she favourede me wyth such discourse that the Earle hymself had been well glad of. And now dothe Tyr-Owen dare us old commanders wyth hys presence and protection.

I doubte not but some state businesse is well nighe begunne, or to be made out; but these matters pertain not to me nowe. I muche feare for my good Lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear the plot was well nighe accomplyshede to disturb our peace and favour Arabella Stuart,

the Prince's cousin. The Spaniardes beare no good wyll to Raleigh, and I doubte if some of the Englyshe have muche better affectione towarde hym; God delyver me from these desygns. I have spokene wyth Carewe[6] concerninge the matter; he thynkethe ill of certaine people whome I knowe, and wishethe he coude gaine knowledge and further inspectione hereof, touchynge those who betrayede thys busynesse. Cecil dothe beare no love to Raleighe, as you well understande in the matter of Essex. I wyste not that he hathe evyll desygn, in pointe of faithe or relygion. As he hathe ofte discoursede to me wyth moch lernynge, wysdom, and freedome, I knowe he dothe somewhat dyffer in opynyon from some others; but I thynke alsoe his hearte is welle fixed in everye honeste thynge, as farre as I can looke into hym. He seemethe wondrouslie fitted, bothe by arte and nature, to serve the state, especiallie as he is versede in foraign matters, his skyll thereyn being alwaies estimable and prayse-worthie. In relygion, he hathe showne (in pryvate talke) great depthe and goode readynge, as I once experyencede at hys owne howse, before manie

[6] Sir George Carew, afterward Embassador to the court of France.

lernede men. In goode trothe, I pitie his state, and doubte the dyce not fairely thrown, if hys lyfe be the losynge stake: but hereof enowe, as it becomethe not a poore countrye knyghte to looke from the plow-handle into policie and pryvacie. I thanke Heavene, I have been well nighe driven heretofore into narrowe straits, amongste state rocks and sightless dangers; but if I have gained little profitte and not moche honoure, I have not adventured so far as to be quite sunken herein. I wyll leave you all now to synke or swym, as seemethe beste to your owne lykinge; I onlie swym nowe in oure bathes, wherein I feel some benefyt and more delyghte. My lameness is bettered hereby, and I wyll shortlie set forwarde to see what goethe on in the citie, and prie safelie amonge those that truste not mee, neither wyll I truste to them: newe prynces begete newe lawes, and I am too well strycken in yeares and infirmyties to enter on newe courses. God commend and defend your Lordshippe in all youre undertakynges. He that thryvethe in a courte muste put halfe his honestie under his bonnet; and manie do we knowe that never parte that commoditie at all, and sleepe wyth it all in a bag. I reste your lordshippes trew friende,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir Robert Cecil[7] to Sir John Harington, 1603. With Houshold Rules and Ordinances for Servantes. [See p. 105.]

My Noble Knyght,

My thankes come wythe your papers and wholesome statutes for your fathers householde. I shall, as far as in me lieth, patterne[8] the same, and geve good heed for due observaunce thereof in my own state. Your father did muche affect suche prudence; nor dothe his sonne lesse followe his faire sample, of worthe, learninge, and honor. I shall not faile to keep your grace and favor quick and lively in the Kinges breaste, as far as good discretion guideth

[7] Son to the celebrated Lord Burleigh, knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1591; and created, by King James, Baron of Essenden, 1603; Viscount Cranbourn, 1604; and Earl of Salisbury, 1605. He filled the important office of Secretary of State during the latter part of Elizabeth's, and the early part of James's reign, and died in 1612, worn out with business, says Mr. Brydges, before his fiftieth year. See Memoirs of the Peers of England, i. 479.

[8] i. e. make the same a pattern, or example.

me; so as not to hazard my own reputation for humble suing, rather than bold and forward entreaties. You know all my former steppes: good knyght, reste content, and give heed to one that hathe sorrowde in the bright lustre of a courte, and gone heavily even to the beste seeminge faire grounde. 'Tis a great taske to prove ones honestye, and yet not spoil ones fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed Queenes tyme, who was more than a man, and (in troth) sometyme less than a woman. I wishe I waited now in her presence-chamber, with ease at my foode, and reste in my bedde. I am pushed from the shore of comforte, and know not where the wyndes and waves of a court will bear me; I know it bringeth little comforte on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this waye to heaven. We have muche stirre aboute councels, and more about honors. Many knyghts were made at Theobalds,[9] duringe the Kynges staye at myne house, and more to be made in the cittie. My father had muche wisdom in directing the state; and I wish I could bear my part so discretely as he did. Farewel, good knyght;

[9] In Herts: where King James was met by the members of the privy council, on his way to London.

but never come neare London till I call you. Too much crowdinge doth not well for a cripple, and the Kynge dothe finde scante roome to sit himself, he hath so many *friends*, as they choose to be called, and Heaven prove they lye not in the ende. In trouble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such-like matters, I nowe reste

Your true friende,

R. Cecil[2].

29 *May*, 1603.

Sir John Harington to the Earl of Shrewsbury, enclosing a Rental of his Estate at Lenton, and beseeching the Earl to further his Suit against Sir John Skinner.[3]

My very good Lord,

I have sent yor Lo^p^. the particuler rates of Lenton, wch. yf your Lo^p^. will do mee the favor

[2] Dr. Kippis remarks, in his addenda to the Life of Lord Salisbury, that this letter expresses, in a striking manner, "the infelicity of a courtier's life, and the dangers to which his virtue is exposed." Biog. Brit. iii. 411.

[3] Transcribed from the Talbot papers in the Heralds' col-

to recomend to a good chapman, yt wold bee a means of my speedy delyvery owt of this thraldome.[4]

I hope Sr Griphin Markham and I shall agree frendly, and that hee will learn to know and use his frends.

Now I ame to desyre y^ͤ^ Lo^p^ yf ever servyce and love of any Markham was acceptable to yow; yf my long professed dewty may presume to challenge yt, to favor us in our bill agaynst Sir John Skinner, whose frawd, wastfullnes, and willfullnes, hathe been the fyrst concussyon, and ys lyke to bee the fynall rewin of the Markhams credyt.

Yo^ͤ^ Lo^p^ promist mee to move my Lo. Tresorer and my Lo. of Northampton and my Lo. Cecill on this behalfe. I pray yo^ͤ^ Lo^p^ let mee

lege, (vol. M. fol. 285,) by the kind and liberal indulgence of Edm. Lodge, Esq. pursuivant at arms; whose MS. notices of those papers furnished an intelligent clue to their contents.

[4] In a former letter from Sir John to the same correspondent, (ut sup. fol. 200,) he speaks of his "imprysonment, sicknes, and other crosses," as inducements for parting with his "demayns of Lenton."

add my Lo. Chawncellor; who may stryke the greatest stroke thear-yn. And so, praying yor Lo^{p}· favor y^{t}· I may speake wth· yor Lo^{p}· yf yow passe by, I take leave, this xxxjth of March, 1604.

Yo^{r} Lo^{ps}· at commawnd,

JOHN HARYNGTON.

Sir John Harington to Mr. Secretary Barlow, [from London,] 1606.

My good Friend,

IN compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor accounte of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King[5] came, and from the day he did come un-

[5] Christian IV. who visited England July 17, 1606, and departed Aug. 11. Stowe's Annales.

Sir Edward Peyton makes a very sottish report of King Christian, and says that King James got so drunk with him at Theobalds, he was obliged to be carried to bed. Hist. of the Stuarts.

Howell likewise describes an entertainment given by the same Danish monarch, in 1632, at Rhensburgh, where the

till this hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sorte, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomets paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty, as woud have astonishd each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those, whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the parliament did kindly to provide his Majestie so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good livinge; shews, sights, and banquetings, from morn to eve.

One day, a great feast was held, and, after dinner, the representation of Solomon his Temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to

King, after giving thirty-five toasts, was carried away in his chair; and most of the officers of the court were so drunk, that they could not rise till late the next day. Sect. vi. Letter 2.

have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others.—But, alass! as all earthly thinges do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The Lady who did play the Queens part, did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steppes arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majestics lap, and fell at his feet, tho I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand, to make all clean. His Majesty then got up and woud dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear, in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity: Hope did assay to speak, but wine renderd her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her brevity: Faith was then all alone, for I am cer-

tain she was not joyned with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition: Charity came to the King's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sorte she made obeysance and brought giftes, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his Majesty. She then returnd to Hope and Faith, who were both sick and spewing in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and, by a strange medley of versification, did endeavour to make suit to the King. But Victory did not tryumph long; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the anti-chamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremoste to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants; and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

I have much marvalled at these strange pegeantries, and they do bring to my remembrance

what passed of this sort in our Queens days; of which I was sometime an humble presenter and assistant[6]: but I neer did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food. I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man shoud blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well-masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty, to conceal their countenance; but, alack, they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The Lord[7] of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvelously please both Kings, with good meat, good

[6] This does not appear from the Progresses and Processions of Queen Elizabeth, hitherto collected by the diligent researches of Mr. Nichols.

[7] The Earl of Salisbury.

drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself. I wish I was at home:—*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*—And I will; before the Prince Vaudemont cometh.

I hear the uniting the kingdoms is now at hand;[8] when the Parliament is held more will be done in this matter. Bacon is to manage all the affair, as who can better do these state-jobs. My cosin, Lord Harington of Exton, doth much fatigue himself with the royal charge of the princess Elizabeth; and, midst all the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety. If you would wish to see howe folly dothe grow, come up quickly; otherwise, stay where you are, and meditate on the future mischiefs of those our posterity, who shall learn the good lessons and examples helde forthe in these days. I hope to see you at the

[8] This could not well allude to the union of Scotland with England, as Mr. Chalmers has pointed out a royal proclamation, dated May 13, 1603, declaring the two realms as *presently* united, and as one kingdom. Supp. Apol. p. 417. The same writer, in the same work, has remarked this letter to be extremely interesting, and well worthy of perusal.

Bathe, and see the gambols you can perform in the hot waters, very speedily; and shall reste your assured friend in all quiet enjoyments and hearty good affections.

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir John Harington to Mr. Robert Markham,[9] 1606.

My goode Cosin,

HEREWITHE you will have my Journale wyth our Historie, duringe our marche against the Irishe rebells.[2] I did not intend any eyes should have seen thys discourse, but my own childerns; yet, alas! it happened otherwyse: for the Queen did so aske, and, I may saye, demande my accounte, that I coude not withholde shewing it; and I, even nowe, almoste tremble to rehearse hir Highnesse displeasure hereat. She swore, "by God's Son,[3] we were

[9] Of Cottam. See page 260.

[2] See page 268.

[3] Mr. Ritson, with a lamentable perversion of industry, has collected the peculiar oaths of our ancient monarchs, in his

all idle knaves, and the Lord Deputy[4] worse, for wasting our time and hir commandes, in such wyse as my Journale dothe write of." I coude have tolde hir Highnesse of suche difficulties, straites, and annoyance, as did not appear therein to her eyes; nor, I founde, coude not be broughte to her eare; for her choler did outrun all reasone, tho I did meete it at a seconde hande. For what shewe she gave at firste to my Lorde Deputy, at his return, was far more grievous, as wyll appear in goode tyme. I marvell to thynk what strange humors do conspire to patch up the natures of some myndes. The elements do seem to strive which shall conquer and rise above the other. In good soothe, our late Queene did enfolde them all together. I blesse her memorye, for all hir goodnesse to me and my familie; and now wyll I shewe you what strange temperament she did sometyme put forthe. Hir mynde was oftime like the gentle aire that comethe from the westerly pointe in a summer's morn; 'twas sweete and refreshinge to all arounde her. Her speech did

notes on "English metrical romances," and affirms that Queen Elizabeth had this asseveration in her mouth as frequently as a fish-woman.

[4] Essex.

winne all affections, and hir subjectes did trye to shewe all love to hir commandes; for she woude saye, "hir state did require her to commande, what she knew hir people woude willingely do from their owne love to hir." Herein did she shewe hir wysdome fullie: for who did chuse to lose hir confidence; or who woude wythholde a shewe of love and obedience, when their Sovereign said it was their own choice, and not hir compulsion? Surely she did plaie well hir tables to gain obedience thus wythout constraint: again, she coude pute forthe suche alteracions, when obedience was lackinge, as lefte no doubtynges whose daughter she was. I saie thys was plain on the Lorde Deputy's cominge home, when I did come into hir presence; she chaffed muche, walkede fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage; and, I remember, she catched my girdle when I kneelede to hir, and swore, "By God's Son I am no Queen; that *man* is above me;—Who gave him commande to come here so soon? I did sende hym on other busynesse." It was longe before more gracious discourse did fall to my hearynge; but I was then put oute of my trouble, and bid "Go home." I did not stay to be bidden twise; if all the Iryshe rebels had been at my heels, I shoude not have had better

speede, for I did now flee from one whom I both lovede and fearede too.

Hir Highnesse was wont to soothe hir ruffled temper wyth *readinge* every mornynge, when she had been stirred to passion at the council, or other matters had overthrown hir gracious disposition. She did much admire Seneca's wholesome advisinges, when the soul's quiet was flown awaie; and I saw muche of hir translating thereof.[5] By art and nature togethe so blended, it was difficulte to fynde hir right humour at any tyme. Hir wisest men and beste counsellors were oft sore troublede to knowe hir wyll in matters of state: so covertly did she pass hir judgemente, as seemed to leave all to their discreet management; and, when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honour and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the council were in great straite to defende their owne actinge and not blemyshe the Queen's goode judgmente. Herein hir wyse men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the Lorde Treasurer[6] woude ofte shed a plenty of

[5] See p. 109.

[6] Burleigh.

tears on any miscarriage, well knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so muche to mende the matter itself, as his mistresse's humor: and yet he did most share hir favour and good wyll; and to his opinion she woude oft-tyme submit hir owne pleasure in great matters. She did keepe him till late at nyghte, in discoursinge alone, and then call oute another at his departure, and try the depthe of all arounde hir sometyme. Walsingham[7] had his turn, and each displaied their witte in pryvate.

On the morrowe, everye one did come forthe in hir presence and discourse at large; and, if any had dissembled withe her, or stood not well to hir advysinges before, she did not let it go unheeded, and sometymes not unpunishede. Sir Christopher Hatton[8] was wont to saye, "The Queene did fishe for men's souls, and had so sweet a baite, that no one coude escape hir network." In truthe, I am sure hir speeche was such, as none coude refuse to take delyghte in, when frowardness did not stand in the way. I have seen her smile, soothe with

[7] Sir Francis Walsingham, principal Secretary of State.

[8] Vice Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He died Sept. 20, 1591, according to Lord Burleigh's Diary.

great semblance of good likinge to all arounde, and cause everie one to open his moste inwarde thought to her; when, on a sudden, she woud ponder in pryvate on what had passed, write down all their opinions, draw them out as occasion required, and sometyme disprove to their faces what had been delivered a month before. Hence she knew every one's parte, and by thus *fishinge*, as Hatton sayed, she caught many poor fish, who little knew what snare was laid for them.

I will now tell you more of hir Majestys discretion and wonder-working to those about her, touchynge their myndes and opinions. She did oft aske the ladies around hir chamber, If they lovede to thinke of marriage? And the wise ones did conceal well their liking hereto; as knowing the Queene's judgment in this matter. Sir Mathew Arundel's fair cosin, not knowing so deeply as hir fellowes, was asked one day hereof, and simply said—"she had thought muche about marriage, if her father did consent to the man she lovede."—"You seem honeste, I'faithe, said the Queen; I will sue for you to your father."—The damsel was not displeased hereat; and, when Sir Roberte[9] came to cowrte,

[9] Arundel.

the Queene askede him hereon, and pressede his consentinge, if the match was discreet. Sir Roberte, muche astonied at this news, said—"he never heard his daughter had liking to any man, and wantede to gain knowledge of hir affection; but woude give free consente to what was moste pleasinge to hir Highnesse wyll and advyse."—"Then I will do the reste;" saith the Queene. The ladie was called in, and the Queene tould her father had given his free consente. "Then, replied the ladie, I shall be happie, and please your Grace."—"So thou shalte; but not to be a foole and marrye. I have his consente given to me, and I vow thou shalte never get it into thy possession: so, go to thy busynesse. I see thou art a bolde one, to owne thy foolishnesse so readilye."

I coude relate manye pleasante tales of hir Majestie's outwittinge the wittiest ones; for few knew how to aim their shaft against hir cunninge. We did all love hir, for she said she loved us, and muche wysdome she shewed in thys matter. She did well temper herself towards all at home, and put at variance those abroad; by which means she had more quiet than hir neighbours. I need not praise her frugality; but I wyll tell a storie that fell oute

when I was a boye. She did love riche cloathynge, but often chid those that bought more finery than became their state. It happenede that Ladie M. Howarde[2] was possesede of a rich border, powderd wyth golde and pearle, and a velvet suite belonginge thereto, which moved manie to envye; nor did it please the Queene, who thoughte it exceeded her owne. One daye the Queene did sende privately, and got the ladies rich vesture, which she put on herself, and came forthe the chamber amonge the ladies; the kirtle and border was far too shorte for her Majesties heigth; and she askede every one, "How they likede her new-fancied suit?" At lengthe, she askede the owner herself, "If it was not made too short and ill-becoming?"—which the poor ladie did presentlie consente to. "Why then, if it become not me, as being too shorte, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine; so it fitteth neither well." This sharp rebuke abashed the ladie, and she never adorned her herewith any more. I believe

[2] See Mr. Fenton's letter to Sir John Harington, page 233, supra. Truly has Dr. Birch remarked, that with qualifications which would have adorned the greatest of men, Queen Elizabeth had one of the lowest weaknesses of a woman, an unconquerable spirit of fantastic coquetry; which continued with her to the last. View of negotiations, &c. 1749.

the vestment was laid up till after the Queenes death.

As I did bear so much love towarde hir Majestie, I know not well how to stop my tales of hir virtues, and sometimes hir faults, for *nemo nascitur sine*——, saith the poet; but even her errors did seem great marks of surprizing endowments.—When she smiled, it was a pure sun-shine, that every one did chuse to baske in, if they could; but anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wondrous manner on all alike. I never did fynde greater show of understandinge and lerninge, than she was bleste wyth; and whoever liveth longer than I can, will look backe and become *laudator temporis acti*. Yet too, will I praise the present tymes, or I should be unmindfull of many favours receivede from manie handes.

Nowe will I trye to stop, and give your patience a breathinge-time from my historie; but the subject of the letter wyll excuse my tedious reciting. I write from wonder and affection. I have nowe passed my storms, and wishe for a quiet harbour to laye up my bark; for I growe olde and infirme. I see few friendes, and hope

I have no enemies. So nowe adieu, good cosin, and read my tale which I penned of our marches, ambuscades, culverins, and such-like matters ;[3] which if it give you no more pleasure in the readynge than it did me in the enduringe, I muste thinke it a sorry tale trulye.

I reste your lovynge Cosin,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Send me Petrarche by my man, at his returne.

Sir John Harington to Prince Henry,[4] 1606.[5]

Most noble and honoured Sir,

I HERE sende by my servant such matter as your Highness did covet to see, in regard to Bishop Gardener of Winchester, which I shall sometime more largely treat of, and lay at your

[3] See p. 285.

[4] Enclosing the letter of John Harington, Esq. to Bishop Gardener. See p. 63.

[5] The date of this letter has been altered from 1609 to 1606, in consequence of its internal testimony that the former date was erroneous. Perhaps the last figure was reversed.

feet.[6] I may truly say, this prelate did persecute me before I was born; for my father was by his command imprison'd in the Tower for eleven months, for only carrying a letter to the Princess Elizabeth; and my mother was taken from her presence, and obliged to dwell with Mr. Topcliff, as an heretic. My poor father did send many petitions to the Bishop, but in vain, as he expended one thousand pounds to get his liberty. Nor had they any comfort but their consciences to beguile this affliction, and the sweet wordes and sweeter deeds of their mistress and fellow prisoner. But, not to rail only, I will inform your Highness what old Sir Matthew Arundel was wont to say, touching these times—"that Bonner was more to blame than Gardener, who used to call him ass, and other scurvy names, for dealing so cruelly by honest men." I was moved to say so much against this judgment, that Sir Matthew said, my father ought to have lain in prison much longer, for sending such a saucy sonnet to Gardener: in truth it was not over civil, but after fair wordes ill taken, such deeds are not foul; and, considering those unrefin'd times, the

[6] Alluding to the "Briefe View, &c." written in 1607.

poetry[7] is not badly conceived; as your Highness may judge in due season, when I bring it before you, and here have sent no ill written letter to beg mercy of the Bishop; of which my father gave me copies, with many others in his own justification. In humble consideration of your Highness favour and countenance,

I remain, to all commande,

JOHN HARINGTON.

[7] This poetry is printed in the life of Bishop Gardiner. See "Briefe View of the State of the Church," vol. ii. p. 70.

A specimen of the first stanzas, strongly expressive of the different lights in which Gardiner was viewed by different parties, was inserted in Andrews's Continuation of Dr. Henry's History, vol. i. p. 441. "When Gardiner first recommended persecution," adds the historian, "he thought that a few striking examples would cause a general recantation; but when he found his error, he left the weight of cruelty on the willing shoulders of Bonner, who was wont to say—'Let me once lay hold of these heretics, and if they escape me, God do so and more to Bonner!'"

[8]Sir John Harington to Sir Amias Pawlett,[9] [Jan. 1606-7[2]]

My lovynge cosene,

It behovethe me now to recite my journal, respectynge my gracious commande of my Sovereigne Prince, to come to his closet; which matter as you so well and urgentlie desyer to heare of, I shall, in suchwyse as suitethe myne

[8] "In that very curious repository, the *Nugæ Antiquæ*," says Lord Orford, "are three letters, which exhibit more faithful portraits of Queen Elizabeth, and James I. than are to be found in our most voluminous historians." These are specified to be the letters from Sir John Harington to Sir Amias Pawlett and Mr. Robert Markham, with Lord Thomas Howard's letter to Sir John. Addenda to Royal and Noble Authors, p. 526.

[9] *Qu.* whether the same, who, when he saw too much haste in any matter, was wont to say—'Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.' See Apothegms in Herbert's Remains, 1652.

[2] This date has been substituted for that of 1604—because Lord Harington of Exton, who is spoken of as lately honoured, was created a baron, November 18, 1606.

beste abilitie, relate unto you, and is as followethe.—When I came to the presence-chamber, and had gotten goode place to see the lordlie attendants, and bowede my knee to the Prince; I was orderde by a specyal messenger, and that in secrete sorte, to waite a whyle in an outwarde chamber, whence, in near an houre waitinge, the same knave ledde me up a passage, and so to a smale roome, where was good order of paper, inke, and pens, put on a boarde for the Prince's use. Soon upon this, the Prince his Highnesse[3] did enter, and in muche goode humour askede, "If I was cosen to lorde Haryngton of Exton?" I humblie repliede,—"His Majestie did me some honour in enquiringe my kin to one whome he had so late honourede and made a barone;" and moreover did adde, "wee were bothe branches of the same tree." Then he enquyrede muche of lernynge, and showede me his owne in suche sorte, as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetyme. He soughte muche to knowe my advances in philosophie, and utterede profounde sentences of Aristotle, and suche lyke wryters, whiche I had never reade, and which some are bolde enoughe to saye, others

[3] From the sequel it appears to have been King James.

do not understand: but this I must passe by. The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him parte of a canto in "Ariosto;" praysede my utterance, and said he had been informede of manie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He asked me "what I thoughte pure witte was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether a Kynge shoulde not be the beste clerke in his owne countrie; and, if this lande did not entertayne goode opinion of his lernynge and good wisdome?"[4] His Majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane in matter of witchcraft; and askede me, with muche gravitie,—"If I did trulie understande, why the devil did worke more with anciente women than others?" I did not refraine from a scurvey jeste, and even saide (notwithstandinge to whom it was saide) that—"we were taught hereof in scripture,

[4] Churchill's character of this regal pedant, may here be appositely cited—

"Vain of the scholar, he forgot the prince;—
And, having with some trifles stored his brain,
Ne'er learn'd, or wish'd to learn, the arts to reign.
Enough he knew to make him vain and proud,
Mock'd by the wise, the wonder of the crowd:
When he should act he idly chose to prate,
And pamphlets wrote, when he should save the state."

Gotham, Book 2.

where it is tolde, that the devil walketh in dry places." His Majestie, moreover, was pleasede to saie much, and favouredlye, of my good report for merth and good conceite: to which I did covertlie answer; as not willinge a subjecte shoude be wiser than his Prince, nor even appeare so.

More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wantede roome to continue, and sometime roome to escape; for the Queene his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison[5] neither. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, "spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte[6] presentede to them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire." He then did remarke muche on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certaine bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future chances. Hereat, he namede many bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advisede me not to consult some authors which woulde leade

[5] The unfortunate Secretary of State, as he is described by Bishop Percy, who suffered so much from the affair of Mary Queen of Scots. Reliques. Vol. I. p. 332.

[6] *Second-sight* must be here implied.

me to evile consultations. I tolde his Majestie, "the power of Satan had, I muche fearede, damagede my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will to cowrte his friendshipe, for my soules hurte."—We nexte discoursede somewhat on religion, when at lengthe he saide: "Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdome in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you, do me justice in your reporte, and in good season, I will not fail to add to your understandinge, in suche pointes as I maye find you lacke amendmente." I made courtesie hereat, and withdrewe downe the passage, and out at the gate, amidst the manie varlets and lordlie servantes who stoode arounde.

Thus, you have the historie of your neighboure's highe chaunce and entertainmente at cowrte; more of whiche matter, when I come home to my owne dwellynge, and talk these affaires in a corner. I muste presse to *silence* hereon, as otherwyse all is undone. I did forget to tell, that his Majestie muche askede concerninge my opinion of the new weede tobacco, and said "it woud, by its use, infuse ill qualities on the braine, and that no lernede man ought to taste it, and wishede it forbidden." I will nowe forbeare further exercise of your tyme,

as Sir ROBERTES man waitethe for my letter to beare to you, from

Youre olde neighboure,
friend, and cosene,
JOHN HARINGTON.

Lord Harington to Sir John Harington, at Bathe.

Much respected Cosin,

OUR great care and honourable charge, entrusted to us by the Kings Majesty, hath been matter of so much concern, that it almost effaced the attention to kyn or friend. With Gods assistance we hope to do our Lady Elizabeth[7] such service as is due to her princely endowments and natural abilities; both which appear the sweet dawning of future comfort to her royal father. The late divilish conspiracy[8] did much disturb this part. The King hath got at much truth from the mouths of the crew themselves; for guilt hath no peace, nor can

[7] Daughter of James I. afterward Queen of Bohemia.

[8] The gunpowder-plot.

there be guilt like theirs. One hath confessed that he had many meetings at Bathe about this hellish design; you will do his Majesty unspeakable kindness, to watch in your neighbourhood, and give such intelligence as may furnish inquiry. We know of some evil-minded catholics in the west, whom the prince of darkness hath in alliance; God ward them from such evil, or seeking it to others. Ancient history doth shew the heart of man in divers forms: we read of states overthrown by craft and subtilty; of Princes slain in field and closet; of strange machinations devised by the natural bent of evil hearts; but no page can tell such a horrid tale as this. Well doth the wise man say, that "the wicked imagineth mischeif in secret." What, dear cosin, coud be more secret or more wicked? A wise King and wise council of a nation at one blow destroyed in such wise as was now intended, is not matchable. It shameth Caligula, Erostratus, Nero, and Domitian, who were but each of them fly-killers to these wretches. Can it be said that religion did suggest these designs; did the spirit of truth work in these mens hearts? How much is their guilt encreasd by such protesting! I cannot but mark the just appointment of Heaven in the punishing of these desperate men, who

fled to our neighbourhood; you hear they sufferd themselves by the very means they had contrived for others. A barrel of gunpowder was set on fire during the time that the house was besieged, and killed two or three on the spot; so just is the vengeance of God! I have seen some of the chief, and think they bear an evil mark in their foreheads, for more terrible countenances never were looked upon. His Majesty did sometime desire to see these men, but said he felt himself sorely appall'd at the thought, and so forbare. I am not yet recoverd from the fever occasioned by these disturbances. I went with Sir Fulk Grevile[9] to alarm the neighbourhood, and surprize the villains, who came to Holbach; was out five days in peril of death, in fear for the great charge I left at home. Wynter[2] hath confessed their design to surprize the Princess at my house, if their wickedness had taken place at London. Some of them say, she woud have been proclaimed Queen. Her Highness doth often say, "What a Queen shoud I have been by this means? I had rather

[9] Afterward Lord Brooke, who was "stabbed to death with a knife by his servant, Sept. 1, 1628."

Smith's Obituary in Bibl. Sloan.

[2] There were two *Winters* concerned in this conspiracy, Thomas and Robert.

have been with my royal father in the Parliament-house, than wear his crown on such condition." This poor lady hath not yet recoverd the surprize, and is very ill and troubled.

I hear by the messenger from his Majesty, that these designs were not formed by a few: the whole legion of catholics were consulted; the priests were to pacify their consciences, and the pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed, so honourable to God and his holy religion. His Majesty doth much meditate on this marvellous escape, and blesses God for delivering his family, and saving his kingdom, from the tryumphs of Satan and the rage of Babylon. My being created Baron of Exton[3] did give much offence to some of the catholics; and his Majestie's honouring my wife and self with the care of the Lady Elizabeth, stirred up much discontent on every side. I only pray God to assist our poor endeavours, and accept our good will to do right herein, maugre all malice and envious calumny. If I can do you any service with the King, you may command my friendship in this and every other matter I can. He hath no little affection for your poetry and

[3] This creation took place, Nov. 18, 1606.

good learning, of which he himself is so great a judge and master. My Lady Sydney desires her remembrance to you, as do all friends from Warwickshire. I hope your disorder is much better; may you feel as much benefit from the Baths as I did aforetime.

Thus, dear cosin, I have given my thoughts in large of our sad affright, as you desired by your son's letter, which is notably worded for his age. My son is now with Prince Henry, from whom I hope he will gain great advantage, from such towardly genius as he hath even at these years. May Heaven guard this realm from all such future designs, and keep us in peace and safety! My hearty love waits on Lady Mary,[4] and every one belonging to her houshold. Pray remember what I desire as to noticing evil-minded men in your parts, as it is for the King's sake and all our own sakes.

Adieu, dear cosin,

HARINGTON.

From Comb-Abbey,[5]
Jan. 6, 1606—7.

[4] The wife of Sir John.

[5] Comb-Abbey, in Warwickshire, accrued to John Lord Harington, says Fuller, by his mother, the heiress of Kelway. Worthies of Warwickshire, p. 130.

Sir John Harington to Mr. Sutton, founder of the Charter-house School.[6]

Sir,

Your strange message, first by my man, after by my son, now seconded with your speach to myself, did greatlie trouble me. That I have undone you, overthrown your estate, disturbed your designes: that no man dare buy any land

[6] A brief statement of the origin &c. of this respectable seminary, was given in a tract, entitled "Sutton's Hospitall," 1646. A more compleat historical account was published by Dr. Bearcroft, in 1737, where the letter of Mr. Sutton to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, precedes this vindication offered by Sir John Harington. Mr. Sutton charges Sir John with having been often tampering with him to make the Duke of York his heire, that he might procure the honour of a barony; which he had always treated with honest indignation, from harbouring no proud desire of any such matter. Dr. Bearcroft adds, that his letter had its desired effect, and Mr. Sutton was permitted to remain a private gentleman, and to dispose of his property as he pleased. Ob. December 12, 1611, Æt. 79.

In Malcolm's "Londinium Redivivum," vol. i. are several letters from Sir J. Harington to Mr. Sutton, respecting this

of you, be your feoffee, nor take any trust from you; so as that which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so incumbered, as you were scant master of your own; and all by means of a bruit[7] among your friendes, raised as you supposed by me, "That you have made Duke Charles your heir, and the King your executor."

Far be it from me to abuse or mis-report either so princelie and pious an intention as I know his Majestie hath to further all good works; or so godlie a purpose, as you intend to do some; but "God cannot be mocked," though we may dissemble with men. The letter is still extant which was my warrant. I have spoken nothing but within compass of that, and that very sparinglie to your private friends; in which letter seeing you yourself

transaction, which cast a shade of duplicity, if not of dishonesty, over the moral character of our literary knight. Mr. Malcolm, from some casual inadvertency, has attributed those letters to the amiable Lord Harington of Exton; but they must have proceeded from the pen of his cousin of Kelston.

[7] i. e. rumour, report. Hence Churchill, in "The Times," "Let it be *bruited* all about the town," &c.

would needs in your sense read a caveat to refuse honour because of age; which, in my construction, was an incouragement to take the honor due to your abilities and years; I have been since, and will be silent about it.— For the suit [8] you would make to his Majesty, (which I will not so much as guess at,) I will say what I thinke: you will make no suite, but such as will find favour and expedition; and, seeing you suppose I wronged you before, I would be glad to make you amends now by any endevor of mine. Onlie, my old friend, you may not forgett to he a benefactor to Bath church in your life-time; for alms, in one's life, is like a light borne before one, whereas alms after death is like a candle carried behind one.

Do somewhat for this church; you promised to have seen it e're this; whensoever you will go to Bathe, my lodgings shall be at your commandmente: the baths would strengthen your sinews, the alms would comfort your soule.

The tower, the quire, and two isles, are all-

[8] This appears to have been an application for the regal license, in order to obtain a bill of mortmain. See Londinium Redivivum. p. 400.

ready finished by Mr. Billett,[9] executor to the worthie Lord Treasurer Burleigh: the walls are up ready for covering.

The leade is promised by our bountifull bishop, Dr. Montague; timber is promised by the earl of Shrewsburie, the earle of Hartford, the lord Say, Mr. Robert Hopton, and others.

There lacks but monie for workmanship, which if you would give, you should have many good prayers in the church now in your life-time, when they may indeed doe you good, and when the time is to "make friends of the mammon of iniquity, (as Christ bids us,) that we may be received into everlasting tabernacles;" to which God send us, to whose protection I leave you, &c.

JOHN HARINGTON.

From Greenwich, this
13th of June, 1608.

[9] See vol. ii. p. 143, Sir John, in a letter dated September 5, 1608, styles him "*Saynt* Billet;" and exhorts Mr. Sutton to charitable liberality, in a similar strain of rhetoric with what he has here employed.—"You rich men should open your barnes, give, lend, distribute to the poor, and lay up threfold in heaven: faith is good, hope is good, but charity is the cheafer, *major horum caritas*." Londinium Redivivum, p. 399.

Sir John Harington to Prince Henry, son to King James I. concerninge his Dogge.

MAY is please your Highnesse to accepte in as goode sorte what I nowe offer, as hath been done aforetyme; and I may saie, *I pede fausto:* but, havinge goode reason to thinke your Highnesse had goode will and likinge to reade what others have tolde of my rare dogge, I will even give a brief historie of his good deedes and straunge feats; and herein will I not plaie the curr myselfe, but in goode soothe relate what is no more nor lesse than bare verity. Althowgh I mean not to disparage the deedes of Alexander's horse,[2] I will match my dogge[3] against him for good carriage, for, if he did not bear a great *Prince* on his back, I am bolde to saie he did often bear the sweet wordes of a greater *Princesse* on his necke.

I did once relate to your Highnesse after what sorte his tacklinge was wherewithe he did

[2] Bucephalus.

[3] Bungey.

sojourn from my house at the Bathe to Greenwiche Palace, and deliver up to the cowrte there such matters as were entrusted to his care. This he hathe often done, and came safe to the Bathe, or my house here at Kelstone, with goodlie returnes from such nobilitie as were pleasede to emploie him ; nor was it ever tolde our Ladie Queene, that this messenger did ever blab ought concerninge his highe truste, as others have done in more special matters. Neither must it be forgotten, as how he once was sente with two charges of sack wine from the Bathe to my howse, by my man Combe; and on his way the cordage did slackene ; but my trustie bearer did now bear himselfe so wisely as to covertly hide one flasket in the rushes, and take the other in his teethe to the howse ; after whiche he wente forthe, and returnede with the other parte of his burden to dinner. Hereat your Highnesse may perchance marvele and doubte ; but we have livinge testimonie of those who wroughte in the fieldes, and espiede his worke, and now live to tell they did muche longe to plaie the dogge, and give stowage to the wine themselves ; but they did refrain, and watchede the passinge of this whole businesse.

I neede not saie how muche I did once grieve

at missinge this dogge; for, on my journie towardes Londonne, some idle pastimers did diverte themselves with huntinge mallards in a ponde, and conveyd him to the Spanish ambassadors, where (in a happie houre) after six weeks I did heare of him; but suche was the cowrte he did pay to the Don, that he was no lesse in good likinge there then at home. Nor did the householde listen to my claim, or challenge, till I rested my suite on the dogges own proofes, and made him performe such feats before the nobles assembled, as put it past doubt that I was his master. I did send him to the hall in the time of dinner, and made him bring thence a pheasant out of the dish, which created much mirthe; but much more, when he returnede at my commandment to the table, and put it again in the same cover. Herewith the companie was well content to allow me my claim, and we bothe were well content to accepte it, and came homewardes. I coud dwell more on this matter, but *jubes renovare dolorem:* I will now saie in what manner he died. As we traveld towardes the Bathe, he leapede on my horses necke, and was more earneste in fawninge and courtinge my notice, than what I had observed for time backe; and, after my chidinge his disturbinge my passinge forwardes, he gave me some

glances of such affection as moved me to cajole him; but, alas! he crept suddenly into a thorny brake, and died in a short time.

Thus I have strove to rehearse such of his deedes as maie suggest much more to your Highnesse thought of this dogge. But, having saide so much of him in prose, I will say somewhat too in verse, as you may finde hereafter at the close of this historie. Now let Ulysses praise his dogge Argus,[4] or Tobite be led by that dogge[5] whose name doth not appear; yet coud I say such things of my *Bungey*, (for so was he styled,) as might shame them both, either for good faith, clear wit, or wonderful deedes; to say no more than I have said, of his bearing letters to London and Greenwiche, more than an hundred miles. As I doubt not but your Highnesse would love my dogge, if not myselfe, I have been thus tedious in his storie; and again saie, that of all the dogges near your father's courte, not one hathe more love, more diligence to please, or less pay for pleasinge, than him I write of; for verily a bone would contente my servante, when some expecte

[4] Odyssey, Lib. xvii.

[5] Book of Tobit, Chap. v. and xi.

greater matters, or will knavishly find oute a bone of contention.

I nowe reste your Highnesse friend, in all service that maye suite him,

JOHN HARINGTON.

P. S. The verses above spoken of, are in my book of Epigrams[6] in praise of my dogge Bungey to Momus. And I have an excellente picture, curiously limned, to remaine in my posterity.

Kelstone, June 14, 1608.

Sir John Harington to Prince Henry, 1609.

Moste Noble Prince,

IT was sometyme since your wyll, that I should sende unto you suche scraps and fragments of witte and poesie as I mighte, from my poore braine; but as respecte is due to crowned heads, and as soche sholde be honorede before clown-

[6] Lib. iii. Epig. 21. See also the engraved title-page to his Ariosto, and notes on Book xli.

ishe heads, I have here sente to your Highnesse a prettie verse, made by that unfortunate, and yet in his godlinesse I wist, moste fortunate King, Henrie the Sixthe; it hathe often caused much griefe to thinke on the perilous state of that goode Kinge, not forgetting to remark how he framed his lyfe to meet his death. I met with this verse in a book of my grandfather's writing, whose father was so moche in the trobles and warres of York and Lancaster, as to lose all his landes for being a commander on the wrong side, and among the traitors, if so I may say; and yet thus saith a poet:[7]

> Treason dothe never prosper;—What's the reason?
> Why;—if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.

But this is not King Henry's verse. My ancestor Sir James Haryngton did once take prisoner, with his party, this poor Prince; for which the House of York did graunt him a parcel of lands in the northern counties, and which he was fool enough to lose again, after the battle of Bosworth, when King Henry the

[7] This poet was Sir John himself. Vid. Epigrams, lib. iv. ep. 5.

Seventh came to the crown; and methinks I feel his follie to this tyme, for, on forfeiture of twenty-five rich manors, it was time for our house to travel to southward, where, if they brought no landes, they found some, from the goodness of Henrie the Eight.

The verse I did mean to presente your Highnesse wyth is as doth now followe, and well suteth the temper and condition of him who made it:

"Kingdomes are but cares;
State ys devoyd of staie;
Ryches are redy snares,
And hastene to decaie.

"Plesure ys a pryvie prycke
Wich vyce doth styll provoke;
Pompe, unprompt; and fame, a flame;
Powre, a smouldryng smoke.

"Who meenethe to remoofe the rocke
Owte of the slymie mudde,
Shall myre hymselfe, and hardlie scape
The swellynge of the flodde.

Soe much for poor King Henrie's verse; and nowe take (if your Highnesse will excuse it) some of his prose: for I find written under this,

in the same hand, the following sentences; and no doubte they were not given as his without good credit and groundes:

"Patyence ys the armore and conqueste of the godlie: thys merytythe mercie, when cawslesse ys soffered sorrowe."

"Nougte els ys warre bote furie and madnesse, whereyn ys not advyse bote rashnesse; not ryghte bote rage, rulethe and raignethe."

"HENRIE."

And none so trulie coud speake thus as our poore author, under his piteous imprisonment, his bloody kingdom, his distressed kyndred; from all which God hath now most marvelously freed and deliverd these realmes.

As I have thus given your Highnesse a short ensample of royal poetrie, I will not in haste forsake the matter, and descend from high to low; but will now venture to send to your readinge a special verse of King Henry the Eight, when he conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And hereof I entertain no doubt of the author; for, if I had no better reason than the rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no other than suche a

King could write suche a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his houshold.[9] This sonnet was sunge to the lady, at his commaundment, and here followeth:—

The eagle's force subdues eache byrd that flyes;
What metal can resyst the flaminge fyre?
Dothe not the sunne dazle the cleareste eyes,
And melte the ice, and make the froste retyre?
The hardest stones are peircede thro wyth tools;
The wysest are, wyth Princes, made but fools.

Thus have I given your Highnesse another ensample of royal poetrie; nor, if time did serve, or your time woud permit, shoud I omit some prettier verses of our late Princesse, of blessed remembrance; but enow at this time.

[9] A MS. note in the Museum copy of Sir John Hawkins's History of Music, says, "this assertion can never be assented to as a fact; for the whole of the song is to be found in the legend of Jane Shore, by Tho. Churchyard, and forms the fifteenth [*read* thirteenth] stanza of that poem." *Qu.* however, whether the old court-poet might not have wrought King Henry's 'special verse' into his own metrical tissue, as Sir John ascribes it on such good authority to the royal author. In Churchyard's legend it appears with the following additional line after "retyre:"

"Who can withstande a puisaunt kings desire?"

Edit. 1575.

I have complied with your requeste, and sente my "Ariosto," for your Highnesse entertainment, humbly suing for some special marke of your approbation in returne, from the hand and head of that Prince who claymeth the dutyful obeysance and unequalled estimation of

His honoured Servant,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Prince Henry to John Lord Harington, Baron of Exton.[2] 1609.

My Good Fellow,

I HAVE here sente you certain matters of ancient sorte,[3] which I gained by searche in a musty vellome booke in my father's closet, and as it hathe great mention of your ancestry, I

[2] A sketch of the exemplary character of this young nobleman is given in vol. ii. p. 307. He died in the same year with his princely associate.

[3] "An Account of the Barons of Harington, alias Haverington;" omitted here, from having been printed in Dugdale's "Baronage of England," tom. ii.

hope it will not meet your displeasure. It gave me some paines to reade, and some to write also; but I have a pleasure in over reaching difficult matters. When I see you, (and let that be shortlie,) you will find me your better at tennis and pike.[4]

Good fellow, I reste your freind,

HENRY.

NOTE.—Your Latin epistle I much esteem, and will at leisure give answer to.[5]

Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harington, 1611.

My Good and Trusty Knight,

IF you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set for-

[4] The Prince is depicted at the latter exercise, before Drayton's "Polyolbion."

[5] The correspondence between these youths is to be found in Dr. Birch's life of Prince Henry.

ward for courte,[6] whenever it suiteth your own conveniency: the King hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the 'merry blade,' as he hath oft called you, since you was here. I will now premise certaine thinges to be observed by you, toward well gaining our Prince's good affection:—He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in cloaths, I pray you give good heed hereunto; strange devices oft come into man's conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towardes outward thinges, cloaths, deportment, and good countenance. I woud wish you to be well trimmed; get a new jerkin well borderd, and not too short; the King saith, he liketh a flowing garment; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversly colourd, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffend and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their

[6] Bearcroft remarks that King James, on his accession to the throne of England, was pleased to shew a very remarkable regard to the family of the Howards, as having been sufferers for his mother, the Queen of Scots.

suits, for want of due observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedfull of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert[7] Carr is now most likely to win the Prince's affection, and dothe it wonderously in a little time. The Prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smoothes his ruffled garment, and, when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man dothe much study all art and device; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on re-

[7] One of King James's minions, whom he created Earl of Somerset. He was knighted in December, 1608, and as this letter speaks of honours being speedily intended, Mr. Malone conceives that it ought to have an earlier date.

ligion. Do not of yourself say, "This is good or bad;" but, "If it were your Majesties good opinion, I myself should think so and so."—Ask no more questions than what may serve to know the Prince's thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any man's temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing:—the roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; and the good furniture above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the roan; deliverd his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to courte the nexte day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the King's pleasure touching the petition. When the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, "Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrops?"—Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the noble saw him in the courte-yard, but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good

knight, our noble failed in his suit.[s] I coud relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but Silence and Discretion should be linked together like dog and bitch, for of them is gendred Security: I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queen's days.

[s] The preposterous passion which King James indulged for dogs and horses, is farther displayed in one of his original letters, preserved among the Harleian MSS. (6987, fol. 101,) from which the following is a literal copy.

King James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.

"Sweete hairte blessing blessing blessing on my sweete tome* badgers hairte rootes and all his, for breiding me so fyne a kennell of yong howndes, some of thaime so faire and well shaped, and some of thaime so fine prettie litle ones as thaye are worthie to lye on Steenie and Kates† bedde; and all of thaime runne together in a lumpe, both at sente and uewe, and God thanke the maister of the horse, for provyding me such a numbre of faire usefull horsis, fitte for my hande; in a worde I proteste I was never maister of suche horses and howndes; the bearare will tell you quhat fyne running we hadde yesterdaye. Remember now to take the aire discreitlie

* *Tom Badger* and *Steenie* were used as cant names for the Duke, who, in return, styled the King his "dear dade and gossip."

† The Duchess of Buckingham.

These thinges are no more the same. Your Queen did talk of her subjects love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well; our King talketh of his subjects fear and subjection, and herein I think he dothe well too, as long as it holdeth good. Carr hath all favours, as I told you before; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too; for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence; the ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration; for I tell you, good knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favouredе, strong-shoulderd, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; tho' God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely; and yet will you

and peece and peece, and for Gods saike and myne, keepe thyselfe verrie warme, especiallie thy heade and thy showlders, putte thy parke of Bewlie to an ende, and love me still and still, and so God blesse thee and my sweete daughter and god-daughter, to the comforte of thy deare dade.

JAMES R.

[P. S.] Thy olde purveyoure sent thee yesternight six partridges and two levrettis, I ame now going to hawke the pheasant.

come to courte, and thinke to be well favoured? Why, I say again, good knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the thinges men live by now a days. Will you say the moon shineth all the summer? That the starrs are bright jewels fit for Carr's[9] ears? That the roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestridden by Alexander? That his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenice's locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? Your lady is virtuous, and somewhat of a good huswife; has lived in a courte in her time, and I believe you may venture her forthe again; but I know those would not quietly reste, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they shoud be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the King's presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own

[9] Davies of Hereford seems to have been infected by this furor of flattery, when he lauds him as the "bright Carr," which rivalled the "Coach of Phœbus." Scourge of Folly, p. 41.

horse, than the King's roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavors to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him. I truste this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the courte: I know you do it rarely at home. So adieu, my good knyght, and I will always write me

Your truly loving old freinde,

T. Howard.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 1, Note 2. Mr. Douce suggests, and his suggestions are entitled to particular regard, that the word *Peirs* is still unintelligible, unless it could be shewn that peers of the blood royal were the only personages by whom those statutes and rules were to be observed in Justs and Tournaments.

Page 12, Note 6. From Mr. Southey's edition of the works of Chatterton, I learn that this antiquarian relique had been inserted in Lord Orford's Anecdotes of Painting, which appeared in 1762, and consequently during the life of Chatterton, by whom it could not have been unobserved. But it is remarkable that Vertue, who made the extract from the minute-book of the society of antiquaries, has not followed the copy which was communicated by Theobald, in two material points: for (if we may trust Lord Orford's publication) instead of Master *Cannings*, he wrote *Cumings;* and instead of Mr. *Pettes* vicar of *Redclift*, Mr. *Bettes* vicar of *Ratcliffe*.

Page 13. For *chevilles*, supports; Lord Orford reads *chevelures*, perukes.

Page 238, *dele* note 3.

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